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OF THE

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VOL. XII. JANUARY, 1874. No. 1.

MEMOIR OF HENRY COIT PERKINS,

BY

SAMUEL J. SPALDING.

[READ THURSDAY, SEPT., 11, 1873.]

SOME few years since, while sitting with our friend, Dr. Perkins, our conversation turned on the great advances made during the last quarter of a century in all departments of physical science. He was led to speak of his own personal interest and work in the same direction, and of the satisfaction and pleasure he had derived from these side studies of his professional life, as he was accustomed to call them. His account seemed to me of so much value, especially as showing how much could be accomplished by concentration of purpose and a wise use of opportunities, that I ventured to ask him to commit the same to writing.

It is to the brief autobiographical sketch, written shortly after that conversation, that I am indebted for most of the facts respecting Dr. Perkins, which I shall give you to-day.

In this sketch he speaks of his ancestors as belonging to the family of Perkins in Topsfield. His own immediate ancestors were from Topsfield, but remotely from Ipswich.

The Perkins family of Topsfield comprises the descendants of Rev. William Perkins, of whom a sketch is given in the July No. of the 10th Vol. of the "Hist. and Gen. Register."

The Ipswich family comprises the descendants of John Perkins the elder, as he is called in the Records, of whom a sketch is given in the same No. and Vol. of the Register.

"He was born in Newent (as supposed) in Gloucestershire, England, in 1590. He embarked with his wife and family for America, Dec. 1, 1630, at Bristol, England, and arrived at Boston, Feb. 5, 1631, after a 'very tempestuous voyage.' They came over in the ship Lyon, Capt. Wm. Pearce; and the famous Roger Williams was one of their fellow-passengers. At this time their youngest child was about seven, and their oldest seventeen years. On the 18th of the following May (1631) he was admitted freeman. He remained in Boston about two years, when, in 1633, he removed to Ipswich. He was representative to the General Court from that town in 1636, held various town offices and trusts, and appears to have been a man of great respectability. He owned the large island at the mouth of Ipswich river, which was then, and until quite recently, called Perkins' Island. It is still believed to be in the family. His house, which he gave, after his wife's decease, to his youngest son, Jacob, stood near Manning's Neck and close to the river. His will is dated March 28, 1654, and he probably died not long after, as he then says he was 'sick and weak in body.' The will was proved Sept., 1654, and his estate

was valued at £250, 05s. He was sixty-four years old at his death. The name of his wife was Judith, and he left six children, as follows:—

John[2], Thomas[2], Elizabeth[2], Mary[2], Lydia[2], Jacob[2]; Thomas[2], b. 1616; settled in Topsfield; m. Phebe, dau. of Zaccheus Gould, and d. May 7, 1686, aged 70.

He is usually called on the records 'Dea. Thomas Perkins, Sen., of Topsfield.' His will is dated Dec. 11, 1685, and proved Sept., 1686. It is quite long and minute, and his estate was large.

His children were John[3], Thomas[3], Elisha[3], Timothy[3], Zaccheus[3] and three daughters.

Thomas[3], second son of Dea. Perkins, m. Sarah Wallis, 1683, and d. 1719. Children, Martha[4], Robert[4], Samuel[4], Sarah[4], Phebe[4], Hannah[4].

Samuel[4], b. 1699; m. Margaret ———; their children were Thomas[5], Hannah[5], Margaret[5], Samuel[5], Mary[5], Archelaus[5], Sarah[5]."

Thomas[5], b. Feb. 19, 1725; m. 1st, Dinah Towne; m. 2d, Martha Burnham. Children, Archelaus[6], by the first wife, b. April 4, 1756; Daniel[6], Israel[6], Hannah[6], Israel[6], Margaret[6], Thomas[6], Samuel[6].

Thomas[6], b. May 28, 1773; d. Oct. 29, 1853. He m. Elizabeth Storey, Feb. 16, 1804. She was the dau. of Daniel and Ruth (Burnham) Storey of Essex, and was b. June 30, 1778, and d. May 14, 1864. Their children were Henry Coit[7], Daniel Storey[7], Harriet[7], Elizabeth[7], Caroline[7], Mary[7].

Henry Coit[7], b. Nov. 13, 1804; m. Harriet Davenport, Oct. 30, 1828. He d. Feb. 1, 1873. Their only child is Henry Russell, b. April 2, 1838; m. July 6, 1868, Georgiana Prescott, dau. of Samuel G. and Caroline (Prescott) Reed of Boston.

The autobiographical sketch is as follows:—

"'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage.'

I first saw the sunlight, Nov. 13, 1804, as it beamed into an apartment of the old Wolfe tavern in State street, Newburyport, where also was born the father of my affectionate and beloved wife.

The most vivid recollection that now remains of the old mansion is that impressed upon my vision as it was seen wrapped in flames in the great fire of May 31, 1811. I was borne by my aunt from the scene of conflagration to a place of shelter in the residence of the father and family of the late Miss Hannah F. Gould.

At the age of eight years, I commenced the study of the Latin language under Michael Walsh, A. M., the author of the 'Mercantile Arithmetic;' with whom, as I well remember, Hon. Caleb Cushing was fitting for college, and from which school he entered Cambridge in 1813 at the early age of thirteen years.

I continued the study of Latin under Asa Wildes, Esq., at the Newburyport High School, and finally fitted for college under Mr. Alfred Pike, at the Newburyport Academy, and in August, 1820, entered as freshman at Harvard.

My parents were of humble origin, but of respectable descent; my father, Thomas Perkins, was of a Topsfield family of that name; my mother, Elizabeth Storey, was born at Chebacco, now Essex. The parents of both my father and mother were husbandmen, and the children were brought up to habits of industry and frugality, and enjoined the same upon their descendants.

With my brother and sisters, I was led to the baptismal font, May 13, 1816, at the age of eleven years, and received the sacred rite at the hands of Rev. Daniel Dana, D. D., at that time pastor of the Old South Church. A

little tract given me about this time by my pastor, entitled, 'My son, give me thine heart,' I regard as among the first sources of my religious impressions, although I always had been taught, on Sabbath evening, the Westminster confession of faith by my father, and had been blessed with the prayers of a pious mother.

Among the books in my father's small library was a duodecimo entitled 'Elements of Natural Philosophy,' published in 1808, at New York. It contained chapters upon 'matter and motion, the universe, the solar system, the fixed stars, the earth, the atmosphere, meteors, springs, rivers and the sea, fossils, plants, animals, the human frame and the understanding.'

In these, to use the the words of the poet,

> 'I saw a mighty arm, by man unseen,
> Resistless, not to be controlled, that guides,
> In solitude of unshared energies,
> All these thy ceaseless miracles, O world!'

This little volume was the nucleus, around which was to gather all the knowledge I was to be permitted to collect in my after life, and next to the Bible, the volume of nature is the one I have loved most to study. When a lad, I well remember the pleasure afforded in contemplating the changing forms of the silvery clouds, lost in wonder how they could contain and pour out the drenching rain and the rattling hail,—whence could come the mighty wind that prostrated the forest, the dazzling lightning and the heavy thunder that made the earth tremble beneath my feet. Ofttimes, in returning from the evening school have I stood alone gazing into the clear blue sky to see and love the twinkling stars as they ran their silent course, watching me as my heart breathed out the words of the Psalmist, 'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers; the moon and the stars, which

thou hast ordained; what is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?'

Another favorite book was to be found in my father's library, 'Ferguson's Astronomy,' a book brought over the sea by my deceased uncle, Daniel Perkins, a contemporary of Dr. Bowditch, which served to give me a taste for a science the love of which has remained by me until the time when many of the stars I could then distinctly see with the naked eye are only to be seen by the aid of the telescope.

In the retrospect of the time spent at Harvard, no cloud of any size casts its shadow upon the pleasant years.'

To a slight incident (namely, the meeting of a person in the road which led to the Botanic Garden), the writer looks back with pleasure as the turning point of his future employment through life. The individual referred to was Prof. Thomas Nuttall, the distinguished English botanist and naturalist, who had been recently appointed Lecturer on Botany and Curator of the Botanic Garden. A strong attachment sprang up between this teacher and many of the students; this friendship the writer enjoyed, and by it was often enticed away from the drier studies of the course, to a pleasant ramble through the woods and fields in search of their fruits and flowers.

Among the number to whom the volume of nature was first opened, by Mr. Nuttall about the same time, was one recently taken away by the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and with whom for forty-five years, I have been intimately acquainted. I refer to Dr. Augustus A. Gould of Boston. He leaves behind him a character untarnished, and a name long to be held in remembrance by every physician and student of natural history.

On the 27th of Aug., 1824, I graduated at Harvard and,

in company with Rev. William Barnwell of Charleston, S. C., and Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker Parker of Boston, took part in a 'colloquy' before an exceedingly large audience drawn together by the presence of General Lafayette. While an undergraduate, I had attended the lectures of Dr. John C. Warren upon comparative anatomy, and was forcibly struck with the analogies of the skeletons of the lower animals with that of man. I had studied chemistry under Dr. John Gorham, and had often returned from the Botanic Garden with my pockets well filled with minerals from my friend Mr. Nuttall, and my botany box well stored with plants for analysis.

I had unwittingly entered upon the threshold of the medical profession, and on the 27th of Sept., 1824, I entered my name as a student with Dr. Richard S. Spofford of Newburyport, at that time the leading physician of the town.

In Oct., 1825, I entered my name with Dr. John C. Warren and commenced attending the regular course of lectures at the Medical College and practised dissections with a view of understanding more perfectly the structure of the human body. Shortly afterwards I became the house pupil, lodging and studying at his dwelling. Here I made the acquaintance of his son, my highly esteemed friend, J. Mason Warren, then a lad fitting for college in his father's study.

With the students of Dr. James Jackson and Dr. Walter Channing, I attended the clinique at the Mass. General Hospital, and, with Dr. David Bemis, discharged the duties of Dr. Warren's dresser, and assisted him in all his private operations. So diligent were we, that, with the exception of an occasional visit to my friends at Newburyport and Cambridge and a ride once over the neck to Roxbury and back over the Mill-dam, I do not recollect

to have been absent from the Hospital, or away from Boston, for more than two years.

To Dr. James Jackson, I must in justice say, I feel more indebted for what I know of my art, in so far as instruction, written or oral, is concerned, than to any other person. With multitudes of others, I feel that he is my father in medicine. I love him for his virtues, I respect him for his knowledge and I delight to honor him. He has impressed upon the physicians of New England much that has made them useful and skilful practitioners, and to him the public is indebted for much that is valuable in the healing of their diseases. Newburyport has the honor of being the birthplace of this amiable and ever-to-be-remembered Christian gentleman.

In the latter part of August, 1827, I took the degree of M. D. at Harvard, having read a thesis upon the 'Indirect Treatment of Surgical Diseases.'

On the 27th or 28th of this same month, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, there appeared in the heavens a luminous bow, about five degrees in width and extending across the celestial vault from east to west. This was the first auroral arch I had ever heard of, read of, or seen. At that time, no one knew what to make of it. The frequen appearance of such arches since, either alone or accompanied by auroral streams, has called much attention to such phenomena on the part of many scientific writers."

These arches were ever afterwards objects of special interest to Dr. Perkins, and his observations upon them, as published April 9, 1863, have been regarded as of great value.

On the 30th of Oct., 1828, he was marrried to Harriet Davenport, daughter of John Davenport of Newburyport. Their only child is Henry Russell Perkins, b. April 2,

1838, who early chose the career of business rather than the profession of his father. Dr. Perkins always spoke of his domestic relations in terms of the strongest gratitude and affection.

"On the 3d of Sept., 1827, I took an office and put out my sign as a physician. On the same day I had a professional call from one of my acquaintances. And here I may be permitted to say that one of the most gratifying experiences of a medical man is the continuance of the kind and friendly feelings of his early patrons, especially in this day of change. There is, or there should be, an attachment between physician and patient. We become attached to the beast which carries us safely by night and by day over the dreary, perhaps dangerous, road, and we should speak well of the bridge that has borne us safely over the deep and rapid stream, and why should we not become attached to the watchful physician, who, like a guide travelling over the dangerous crags and precipices of the mountains, conducts safely, and often at the risk of his own reputation and life, it may be, those who have intrusted themselves to his care and skill?

In the year 1828, I think, the dysentery appeared in Newburyport in an epidemic form, and, young as the writer was, he was invited to meet Dr. Bradstreet in consultation in such a case. The Doctor was tardy in his appointment, and did not arrive at the patient's house until after the lapse of an hour or more; coming in at the door, clad in his brown camlet cloak saturated with the rain, he apologized for the delay; 'he had been to the quarantine grounds' to visit a vessel from an unhealthy port. This was among the last professional visits Dr. B. ever made. Whether he took disease on board the vessel or not, he soon was taken down with a severe form of fever, and although he had the benefit of the professional skill and

sound judgment of Drs. Noyes and Spofford, he shortly died with symptoms resembling those of yellow fever. His second daughter died within a fortnight after, apparently with the same disease. The sick men, who had been brought to a boarding-house in town, recovered.

Dr. Oliver Prescott, the oldest practising physician in Newburyport at the time, died within a month of my entrance into the profession of medicine. Dr. Francis Vergne, a distinguished physician in his day, had relinquished practice, and Dr. Nathan Noyes was crippled from a partial paralysis of his lower extremities, so that the medical practice in town fell chiefly into the hands of Drs. Noyes, Spofford, Johnson and Wyman.

The latter gentleman, the nearest to the writer in age, was well read in his profession, especially in surgery and diseases of the eye, and, had specialties been known in his day, he would doubtless have gained in a large city a great reputation and fortune by his skill. The writer enjoyed his uninterrupted friendship and many kind offices in his early and later years.

The decease of Dr. Bradstreet threw a large amount of general practice into the hands of Dr. Spofford; of accouching into the hands of Dr. Johnson; and of surgery into the hands of Dr. Wyman. Several young physicians flocked to the town, among whom we may name Dr. Huntington, who afterwards removed to Lowell and became a distinguished physician as well as a mayor of the city, and before his death was honored with the highest gift the Massachusetts Medical Society had to bestow—its presidency.

What was left, after the *lions'* parts were taken out, fell into the hands of the younger physicians, Drs. Cross, F. V. Noyes and the just fledging Thompsonians and homœopaths and the writer. The hill before us was high and

steep, and, besides, some obstacles were placed in the path. The young physician was not allowed, by the rules of the association he was invited to join, to take the place of an elder until he had recommended and advised the payment of his predecessor's bill; and if he tarried longer than four hours at a case of accouching, which he might be obliged to do at the outset of his business, he was to charge one dollar an hour, for every hour thus spent, in addition to the prescribed fee. The elders knew how to make flying visits, a trick not as yet found out by the juniors. In general, however, the intercourse between young and old was pleasant and advantageous, especially to the former; and at the termination of three years, viz., in 1830, the writer was recommended by them as qualified to become a member of the Mass. Medical Society."

Speaking of the character of the diseases he met with, Dr. Perkins remarks:—

"Besides fever, the most common diseases that I have been called upon to treat in Newburyport have been rheumatism, either acute or chronic, and neuralgia, which sprang up about that time, croup, pneumonia, either by itself or combined with pleurisy, influenza, consumption, dropsies, indigestion, dysentery, diarrhœa, erysipelas, measles, scarlet fever, whooping-cough; and of surgical cases, fractures, dislocations, hernias, diseased breasts, and hands maimed from carelessness in the use of machinery or of fire-arms. Many other diseases and injuries, to be sure, I have met with. Some, however, that I expected to see often, have been quite rare, as gout, and, of late years, delirium tremens, which, at one time, was very common, and wounded arteries of large size, to cases of which I have never been called but in three instances. On the contrary, I have met with those I never expected to see.

In the treatment of diseases, I have never dared to draw my bow at venture, or to neglect nursing the patient; believing that, in the large number of diseases, the better course was to conduct the patient safely through his illness, if possible, than to throw off disease, if it was fastened upon the patient; and that after all, it was much easier to *keep* well than to *get* well. And in a practice of forty-four years as an accoucher, I have been so highly favored as to have lost only two patients, where I had charge of the case from the commencement.

Believing always in a superintending Providence, in the paternal and loving character of our Heavenly Father, and aware of the sudden mishaps that might befall such patients, I do not remember that I ever attended one such case without a silent petition in their behalf and that of the infant about to come into this world of temptation and trial. And whenever I presented my petitions at the Throne of Grace for myself, I have endeavored to remember others also, and especially the sick and the afflicted.

I early learned how to sympathize with those who were afflicted, and having borne the yoke myself, I have endeavored to comfort those who were destined to bear the same. As I have been often called to see others as they descended into the dark valley, I have tried, but oh! how vainly!—to place myself in their situation that I might learn how to follow them. This is an experience we must all meet sooner or later, but it can be met only once. We must learn to die by learning how to live. I have seen many die, but I have seen many more who recovered, and this is one great source of comfort to the physician, that in the ordinary course of nature he is called to see the same individual recover many times, before he is called to see him die once. His duties are, however, of the most responsible character, and no one can be too faith-

ful in preparing himself to meet them, or too sedulous or patient in taking care of the sick."

As showing that Dr. Perkins was something more than a student of medicine, and that he felt the need of broader culture than his profession furnished, we have the following:—

"The early years of my professional life were spent chiefly in attendance upon calls whenever they came, and in reading upon medical subjects. Nearly every opportunity for post-mortem examination was improved, and for some time I kept notes of my treatment of the cases which came under my care. I determined to know something of medicine, if I remained ignorant of everything else. But I soon found that variety in reading was requisite to prevent mental fatigue. An invitation was extended to a young friend to join me in reading French. One or two others being desirous of pursuing the same study, it was proposed to form a club for literary and scientific pursuits. The result of our meeting was the foundation of the Newburyport Lyceum in 1828. This was the *second* institution of the kind in New England.

About the same time, and as an offshoot of the Lyceum, the second Social Library was formed, to furnish popular and useful books for those inclined to read; and this continued in existence for some years, and, after a union with the Athenæum, afforded much instruction to those inclined to learn. Reading that requires no thinking, in other words reading for amusement, being one thing, and study being another, the character of the library, and we fear it is true of all popular libraries, soon became very different from what it was at the outset: the popular literature or the light reading and flimsy material of the day soon crowded its shelves to the exclusion of more solid and substantial works, and shortly

the books of the united libraries were sold and they became extinct.

Acting for many years as the manager, or procurer of lecturers for the Lyceum, an opportunity was providentially offered for becoming acquainted with several gentlemen eminent in their calling who consented to lecture upon the subjects of their collegiate departments in our literary institutions.

My attention was thus directed to some of the sciences collateral to medicine, especially to the means of heating and ventilation. The great eclipse of Feb. 12, 1831, afforded an opportunity of brushing up somewhat in astronomy, which led also to some experiments in the grinding and polishing of glass for optical purposes. Little, if anything, at that time, was to be found in books upon the grinding and polishing of lenses or specula. A visit was made in a thick snow-storm to the venerable Dr. Prince of Salem, for aid, who kindly gave such information as he had, by referring to a young optician, Mr. Widdifield of Boston.

A block of flint glass was then purchased and corresponding ones of crown glass wrought out from the old bull's eyes that were to be found in the doors of old buildings. 'Rees' and other 'Encyclopedias' were ransacked to learn the mode of obtaining the specific gravity and index of refraction of the different kinds of glass, and the mathematical formulæ for the correct curves of the different faces or surfaces of the lenses of an achromatic object glass reduced to practice. This afforded employment and occupation for some of the later hours of the winter evenings. Expecting to have the mechanical part done by another, who shrunk from his promise when he learned the nicety required, our own hands had to do the labor, all of which however was lost, owing to the im-

perfection of the material used. After much rubbing and polishing we at last found that glass of a better quality than the bottom of a tumbler, or the central part of the disk which was attached to the iron handle of the glass blower, was needed for the object glass of a telescope. We were disappointed, but made the best of it, and laid aside the lenses in hopes of owning something better.

The attempt to grind lenses for the telescope was a failure. But I was more successful in grinding and polishing lenses for the microscope, and was led to a practical appreciation of the value of this instrument in the study of the structure of different tissues and fluids of the human frame in health and disease, and to an interest in the work of others in the same pursuit. The microscope is no longer a plaything but a valuable instrument in the hands of the physician as well as in those of the naturalist. As a means of diagnosis, this instrument has become invaluable, and it is now (1866) in as common use in the hospital as the test tube.

The physiological action of ether and chloroform was made by me a subject of inquiry, and their effect in staying circulation, the former in the capillaries, the latter in the larger arteries, and in the heart itself, if too long continued, was ascertained to be, in all probability, the true explanation of the phenomena exhibited in anæsthesia."

Dr. Perkins made experiments upon the frog, of which an account was published. See also Dr. Jackson's book on etherization; also Dr. Channing's book on etherization in midwifery.

"My second sister, Elizabeth Perkins, married Mr. Nathaniel Perkins (nephew of the distinguished mechanician, Jacob Perkins) whose business was that of en-

graving and printing bank-notes. This led me often to visit their establishment and to feel an interest in the protection of their notes, against the counterfeiter, whom there had been some reason to fear. I entered upon some experiments and soon found that the finest and most highly finished engravings could be transferred line for line to a *plate either of steel or of copper*, in such a manner that it was at once ready for the etching tool or the graver. Mr. Francis Peabody of Salem, or rather Mr. Dixon, a person then in his employ, had done the same thing on *stone*, and the only remedy was the printing in different colored destructible ink on the face or back, or on both face and back, of the bill. This was immediately adopted, and proved of great service in an improved form, when it was found that they were in the same danger from the photographic process.

Had it not been for this danger to the banks, much benefit to the art of the engraver would have resulted in the duplication or transfer of the engraved illustrations of foreign books. The mode of softening the ink was soon made use of by the wood engraver, and one-third of his labor, at least, saved by the new process of transferring the plate to be copied immediately upon his whitened block. The process of transferring to steel and copper, especially the white ground, which I made, is known, it is believed, thus far, only to one other individual beside myself, a distinguished bank-note engraver in Philadelphia.

The ink upon the little engraving of the boy making the boat (see the plate, the result of the transfer process) had scarcely dried when my attention was called to the process of copying landscapes by M. Daguerre in 1838.

Under the impression that it would be applicable to copying dissections, and more especially the human face, I set immediatly about having a few small plates made by

Mr. Sargent, a plater at Belleville, and the manufacture of hypo-sulphite of soda, none of which was then to be found in the shops, and the preparation of a camera, iodine box, etc.; and I photographed the brick house then occupied by Mr. Enoch Huse in Middle street, nearly back of the one I occupied in Essex street, about the first of Nov., 1839. A young Frenchman, whose name has escaped from my memory, advertised in Boston to teach the art in twelve lectures, but before he had given his second or third lecture, there was exhibited in Boston a fine daguerreotype of one side of State street, Newburyport, which picture, as fresh and perfect as on the day it first saw the light, is still in my possession. A friend and classmate of Prof. Silliman had written to him that he had succeeded in taking a picture, but not as yet in preserving it, for the want no doubt of the hypo-sulphite.

In taking this picture the lens of crown glass manufactured out of one of the bull's eyes, combined with others, came into use and was of great service.

Improvement after improvement rapidly followed each other in this art. The ambrotype, a most delicate, beautiful and sure process, was soon followed by, and culminated in, the Talbotype, giving the negative upon glass, by means of which positives without number could be rapidly and cheaply executed. One process, known only or chiefly by two French artists, Firth and Fevier, of making positives upon glass which presented the deepest shades and the most delicate lights, was esteemed by all as the *ne plus ultra* of the art; and awakened in me an irresistible desire to learn how it was effected. A small piece of a broken picture was begged of a friend; a portion of the ground, removed from the plate, was carefully scrutinized, analyzed as far as could be, and, by the aid of an article in Humphrey's Journal for 1860,

determined to be *wax*. The knowledge and experience of R. E. Mosely, a very delicate manipulator and photographer, brought out a most beautiful picture, known as the "Sleigh-ride," in which the sleigh, freighted with its lady party, stood amid the snow before the Merrimac House, in State street, with the newly-fallen snow lodged upon limbs and branches of the elms in front of the house. These pictures, the most beautiful, in my estimation, that the photographic art has given to the world, have, thus far, proved too difficult and are too expensive to be in great demand; and inferior but cheaper pictures only are generally known. In truth, we have seen many persons, lovers of art, in Boston even, who had never seen a picture upon glass.

An artist in Philadelphia, whose name has now escaped me, had previously made beautiful pictures of the Suspension Bridge at Niagara and *taken views* in the same material at the White Mountains, but he is supposed, from examination of his plates, to have used collodion in place of the wax. These pictures, the perfection of the art, easily to be made, as soon as the dry process, now believed to have been satisfactorily acquired, is accomplished, still remain for some enterprising artist to bring out, when they will take the place of all others. We think we now have such an artist in Newburyport, Mr. Carl Meinerth.

Although I failed to manufacture a telescope for myself, I eventually procured one, and was prepared to examine Donati's comet at its appearance in 1858, with an instrument of five inches aperture and seven feet focus made by Mr. Alvan Clark of Cambridgeport, the first telescope-maker in the world.

The envelopes of this comet, but more particularly those of the comet of 1861, were carefully observed, and from

data furnished by Mr. Bond of the Observatory at Cambridge, of the time of successive rise of those of Donati's comet, the suggestion thrown out by Prof. Pierce of Harvard was examined and fully concurred in, viz:—that they rose on the principle of the summer cloud. By means of a small home-made polariscope, I repeated Arago's experiment upon the light of this comet and, as was the case with him, found the light of the nucleus in part polarized, showing it to be, in part at least, reflected light." (See his Manuscript.)

"The occurrence of so many comets between the years 1827 and 1858, as also of auroras, columnæ and arches, prompted the inquisitive mind to compare the two together, and to mark their analogies and discrepancies. (See the hypothetical explanations of the tails of comets in my scrap-book.)

In December, 1839, a succession of very severe and disastrous storms occurred at about weekly intervals along the Atlantic coast, which called my attention to the subject of meteorology, and for a number of years, about the time of the publication of Mr. Espy's work on the 'Philosophy of Storms,' or shortly after, to a meteorological record, and to the study of meteorological phenomena. As the result of this study, I learned that a sudden rise rather than fall of the mercury indicated the approach of a storm, especially if the mercurial column had been, for a few days prior to the sudden rise, stationary; that the fall came on gradually as the vapors, visible as haze, came to the zenith from the S. W. or W.; that it was lowest in the lull, and that the gradual rise afterwards indicated a return of fair weather. I thought I could perceive an interval of about seven days in very many successive storms—great atmospheric waves, as it were, so that the occurrence of a severe storm on any day

of the week led me to expect another on or near the same day the week following; that many storms are true cyclones moving along the coast from the S. W. to the N. E. or E. as Mr. Redfield taught, but that cumuli clouds are more in accordance with Mr. Espy's theory. (See paper on this subject printed in the 'Proceedings of the Essex Institute' for 1865.)

While an undergraduate at Harvard, I became acquainted with Robert Treat Paine, the son of the poet of that name, who first showed me Venus by a telescope he had made while a junior in college, and to him, under Providence, I am indebted for a position which brought me into the company of some of the first men of the day, as members of the visiting committee of the Observatory at Cambridge, viz., Hon. Wm. Mitchell, Hon. Josiah Quincy, the distinguished and learned author Jared Sparks, Hon. Edward Everett, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, Esq., and the above-named astronomer Mr. Paine. I acknowledge I had no claims to this or to some other distinguished honors that have been conferred on me, but I felt pleased to be placed by a kind Providence in situations where I could sympathize with my associates, from whom I might learn much. This position gave me opportunity of knowing somewhat of the discoveries made at the Observatory and put their annals into my hands, and I had the pleasure, at Newburyport, of directing by telegraph the great equatorial upon Blinkerfue's comet before it had been publicly announced as visible in this country.

In 1840 or 1841, a box containing some old bones was brought from California in a brig belonging to Capt. Cushing, which was kindly turned over to me by Capt. J. Couch, at that time one of the first ship-masters, who visited that region in a vessel from this place, and long

before the discovery of gold there. These fragments of old bones I cemented together and arranged in their proper places in the skeletons of several extinct animals. This was my first attempt at bringing what little knowledge of comparative anatomy I had into use. Several papers from my inexperienced pen appeared in the 'Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History' and in 'Silliman's Journal.' To these old bones, and more especially to the kindness of one of my excellent tutors in college, Mr. George B. Emerson, I soon found myself indebted for membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and for the use of its valuable scientific library.

I had been a member for some years (not very active to be sure) of the Boston Society of Natural History, and also of the Society for Mutual Medical Improvement. The meetings of these societies, on account of professional engagements, I have been seldom able to attend; neither have I found time to read many of their books. My reading has been confined to such books as I could afford to own. Many very valuable works have been very kindly presented to me either by their authors or some of their families, whose kindness I appreciate and gratefully acknowledge. Among these I would name Dr. Bowditch's appendix to La Place's great work, the 'Mécanique Céleste,' from his son, my esteemed friend, Dr. Henry I. Bowditch of Boston. By means of this book, I went through with an approximative calculation of the elements of the comet of 1861, being kindly assisted in understanding any difficult part by two worthy young friends, whom Providence sent to me at just the right time, Charles Tuttle, Esq., formerly of the Observatory at Cambridge, and Mr. George Searle, now (1866) assistant observer at the same place. Liable to almost hourly in-

terruptions from professional calls until after the hours of the day and the early hours of the evening had passed, it seemed at times as though a limit had been set to my attempted acquirements in this direction, and that I must be content to stop where I was, more especially as my eyes had got to be too old to use mathematical tables by gaslight. One book, however, remained, into which I did desire to look and try to understand, for—I had almost said—the inspired thought it contained. This was Newton's 'Principia,' portions of which I had studied in 'Enfield's Philosophy' in my junior year in college. Happening in at Little and Brown's bookstore in June, 1865, my eye rested upon the very book I needed for this purpose, viz., the first three lectures of the Principia by Frost. Newton had said in his introduction to the third book of his Principia 'that if one carefully reads the definitions, the laws of motion and the first three sections of the first book, he may pass on to the third which treats of the phenomena or appearances of the heavenly bodies, their motions, the disturbance of their orbits, etc., etc.' The object of this book was to help the tyro to understand these first three sections.

Providence had again opened the door to the apartment into which I desired to look. The leisure moments of that year I spent in part in the study of this volume. I did not undertake to read it in course, but studied only such parts as were more immediately applicable to the orbits and motions of the planetary bodies. It enabled me satisfactorily to read a very valuable compend of astronomy by Rev. Robert Main, first assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich.

It may perhaps be thought by some that such studies as the above can be of very little service toward helping a physician to cure disease, or to prescribe skilfully for

his patient. But I believe it will be acknowledged by every professional man, no matter how industrious he may be in his professional reading and practice, that some by-play is needed to keep his mind bright, even for professional duties, and his views from becoming contracted from too continued confinement to one thing. (See Dr. J. Bigelow on the limits of science.)

For nearly forty years the main employments and enjoyments of my life have been of the kinds enumerated in the preceding pages. I have never engaged in politics or taken any active part in any political party. In the troubles that have arisen between the North and the South, I have regarded both as more or less to blame; the North, a part at least, as being too earnest to enforce their peculiar views upon their brethren at the South, and the latter, as having an improper estimate of their own character and standing, and of that of the Northern and the Northwestern States. Notwithstanding all these differences, craven must be that spirit that was willing to see the constitution and the noble structure, reared and cemented by the toil and blood of his fathers, trampled in the dust by traitorous men."

The views of Dr. Perkins on this point are more fully given in an address upon "The Physician and Surgeon in time of War."

"The present generation in America have lived in a wonderful age, and have seen what 'prophets and kings,' it might be said, 'have desired to see but have died without the sight.'

They have lived to see time and space on the land and on the sea almost annihilated by steam; to see the heavenly bodies, the landscape and the features of the human countenance transcribe themselves upon the sensitive tablet; to see their messages carried across continents and

oceans by the swift-winged lightning; to see the celestial bodies tell the story of their own physical structure and condition; to see fleets and navies worthless things; to see the earth reveal her hidden secrets of the ages long since buried in oblivion; to see the institution of slavery crumble to the dust and every man of every color stand up a freeman; to see kingdoms and empires tottering to their base, and their own beloved country saved from ruin only by Divine interpositions and a kind overruling Providence. To see what else? To see, in the future, the Omniscient One only knows what. God grant we may be prepared for the sight.

For one thing we are permitted to ask,—that the happy day foretold and promised in the Scriptures may soon come, when peace and the peaceful principles of the religion of Christ shall extend and cover the earth as the waters cover the sea; when all shall know and serve him from the least even to the greatest, and when he, whose right it is, shall reign King of Nations as he now reigns King of Saints, and his kingdom come and his will be done on earth and in our hearts as it is in heaven.

With the exception of about two months while in the Legislature, I have never laid aside my professional character or taken any recreation that would lead me away from home, save a visit for four days to the White Hills in 1858, and a visit to the hospitals for the sick and wounded in Washington in 1861."

An account of this last visit was given in the Newburyport Herald soon after his return.

"During the larger part of my professional life I have attended to all calls, no matter by whom made or what was the case. Having of late years suffered somewhat with lumbago, I gradually relinquished my night business and such as required prolonged attendance. I have en-

deavored to attend upon the poor as faithfully as upon the rich, and I do not remember ever to have taken a dollar from a sick or wounded soldier or to have troubled any one who could not well afford to pay the fee.

I did not enter upon my profession expecting to grow rich thereby. I have seen dark days when, if there was sickness abroad, in my own circle there were but few calls upon a physician. At such times the words of the Psalmist, 'Trust in the Lord and do good and verily thou shalt be fed,' comforted me and gave me courage. From the day that I commenced business to the present, my purse — thank Heaven! — has always enabled me to gratify every reasonable want, although in the early years of my life I was not able to be as generous as I desired. But if of silver and gold I had little, of such as I had I was willing to divide with those who needed. I have endeavored to follow Him who 'went about doing good,' but, I feel, at a great distance.

In visiting my patients, I have, until I was sixty-two years of age, gone on foot, except when they resided too far out of town. If memory serves, I have thus made as many as thirty visits in a day and had time enough to eat, drink and sleep. I attribute a large share of the health I have enjoyed to this good habit and regular daily exercise. I have lost by sickness only about thirty days; having been once confined to the house by erysipelas, once or twice with influenza and once with dysentery.

In Oct., 1869, I had dysentery which confined me to my house about a month; this time was not lost as it gave me an opportunity to re-read Flint's work on the respiratory organs, and to examine more carefully 'the earliest manifestations of organic crystallization,' as Owen calls the *Eozoon Canadense*, which I had, in connection with Mr. Bicknell of Salem, discovered the August be-

fore in the serpentine of our Devil's Den, and which has since then been found also at Chelmsford, a fact which at once settles the character and age of the rocks in our neighborhood, placing them among the lower Laurentian, and proving them to have been originally deposited in the form of mud at the bottom of the sea and since then to have undergone metamorphic change and crystallization. It is very interesting thus to trace the operations of infinite wisdom and power on the floor of the ocean. 'Thy way, O God! is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known.'

Mr. Huxley has, within a short period, found similar instances of organic protoplasm at the bottom of many warm seas, showing that through all time organic creations have taken place. The material universe is full of interest from whatever standpoint it is examined, but we should be careful not to get lost amid *material things*, remembering always that above matter is mind, and above mind are holiness, goodness and truth.

The sick headache, until I was past fifty years of age, was the greatest annoyance in my way. From this, at times, I suffered severely, but it is very rarely that I am now troubled with any difficulty looking toward the brain.

I have been a temperate man through life, having no desire for any stimulant or sedative except a little tobacco, which I have used moderately more or less since a lad in college, it having been prescribed for me at that time by a classmate for my headaches, but which I must say never did me any good, neither can I say much harm, to my knowledge, except perhaps to disturb that steadiness of hand which the surgeon always needs, and for this reason I have often regretted that I had ever put it into my mouth. In 1867 I omitted its use and got rid of an irregularity of the circulation which formerly troubled me.

My food has been in great measure derived from the vegetable kingdom, although I have not been strictly a vegetarian, using a *little* meat at all times when I felt like it; what some would have regarded as but a mouthful has, with vegetables, answered my purpose for a meal.

In the fall of 1870 my attention was providentially called to the subject of 'Germs of Disease' by Dr. L. Beal's work upon this subject. Shortly after, namely, in Nov., Dr. Ernest Hallier's work on the 'Plant Organisms found in Measles, Sheep-pox and Kine-pox' was put into my hand by a German friend, Mr. Carl Meinerth. I could not read a word of German, but my interest in the subject induced me to commence its perusal, which in the course of the winter of 1870 I accomplished, and of which I have now a manuscript translation, corrected by another German friend, Mr. Castelhun.

To test for myself the truth of Prof. Hallier's theory, I had a microscope of excellent optical qualities got up for my especial use by Mr. Edwin Bicknell of Cambridge; and in April or May commenced cultures after Hallier's method. Mr. C. Castelhun was familiar with the use of the microscope, and I engaged him to make a report of what he met with in my cultures.

A belief in substantial organisms as the contagion of what are called Zymotic diseases is entertained by many German and other physicians, and it is probably in this direction, viz., of a sanitary character, that the next progressive step in my profession is to be taken. If the causes of disease can be discovered, its prevention may in time follow, and then truly will have come the medical millennium.

Under date of Oct. 31, 1871, Dr. Shattuck, Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the Mass. Medical Society, informed me that the Society would print and

publish my translation of Prof. Hallier's work, as soon as the manuscript could be prepared. I was to add an appendix of my own confirmative cultures. Dec. 6th, I wrote to Dr. Cotting, on the same committee, informing him that the manuscript was ready. On March 21, 1872, I returned the last corrected proof sheets of the work, and am now awaiting the arrival from Germany of the plates, for the use of which I have Prof. Hallier's consent, as well as that of his publisher."

The plates arrived in season for the translation to appear in the "Publications of Massachusetts Medical Society" issued in 1871.

As a brief synopsis of a portion of his work, Dr. Perkins gave the following:—

"I had the pleasure in 1840 or 41 of figuring and describing the tooth and the right humerus of *Mylodon Harlani* (Syn. *Orycterotherium Oregonense*) in 'Silliman's Journal,' the first specimens of the skeleton of that animal found west of the Rocky Mountains. Also the tooth, portion of the tusk, and the atlas or first bone of the neck of the *Elephas primigenius*, and the astragalus of the fossil ox. All which bones are referred to in Leidy's work on 'Extinct Mammalian Fauna of Dakota and Nebraska,' in the synopsis at the latter part of the volume; also in his book on 'Fossil Sloths.'

Notice of my observations on the effect of ether and chloroform may be found in Dr. Channing's work on 'Etherization in Midwifery,' and in Dr. C. T. Jackson's volume on 'Ether and Chloroform.'

Some of my observations on the aurora may be found alluded to by Mr. Marsh of Philadelphia in the 'Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,' as well as in the communications made by him in the 'Journal of the Franklin Institute.'

In the 'Proceedings of the Essex Institute,' Vol. iv, No. 6, 1865, may be found an abstract of a paper read by me on the 'Formation of the Thunder-cloud.' In the 'American Naturalist' for July, 1870, may be found some observations by me on the 'Action of Light upon the Circulation of Plants,' and in different numbers of the Newburyport Herald for 1858, I think, upon the formation and nature of the envelopes and tails of comets, their polarization of light, etc., etc. Upon most of which subjects I have had the pleasure of finding my views to correspond with those of other observers.

In the discovery of *Eozoon Canadense* in the serpentine of our Devil's Den, I had some share, having first noticed the resemblance of the apparent organic crystallization there seen to that found at Ottawa, Canada, which led to the detection of the characteristic tubules by the microscope, by Mr. Bicknell of Salem, which facts show our rocks to belong to the Laurentian series and to have been deposited amid water rather than to have been of Plutonic origin.

Also the bones of *Mylodon*, as having been found in Oregon and described by myself, are alluded to and credited in Murray's 'Geographical Distribution of Mammals,' published in London. My experiments and observations upon the 'Circulation in *Chelidonium majus*' and the 'Action of Light' were reprinted in the 'Journal of Microscopy,' published in London."

Dr. Perkins was a member of the following literary societies:—

Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University; Boston Med. Society for Mutual Improvement; Boston Society of Natural History; Portland Society of Natural History; Essex Institute; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Massachusetts Medical Society, of which he was

chosen President at the Annual Meeting of the Councillors in May, 1866.

He was identified with the educational interests of Newburyport, being a member of the Board of Trustees of the Putnam Free School. Elected in 1851, he served for nine years as Treasurer, and in 1869 he was chosen President of that board, which office he held at the time of his death.

He was elected a Director of the Public Library holding that office in 1858 and 1859. He was again elected in 1866, and held the office at the time of his death.

Though no aspirant for political honors, he represented the town of Newburyport in the Legislature in the session of 1841–42. He was a member of the Common Council of the city of Newburyport in 1857, 1858 and 1859, and during the last two years was President of that body.

He thus concludes :—

"I desire and humbly pray that I may 'deal justly, love mercy and walk humbly before God' all the days of my life; that I may manifest my gratitude toward my Heavenly Father by acts of obedience and of love; that I may discharge all my duties to myself, my fellow men and my Maker faithfully and in such a manner that I may meet with his approval and his blessing; that I may ever love the truth, speak the truth and obey the truth: and that at the last I may be so happy as to be found with those I have loved and do love, washed in the blood and clad in the righteousness of our Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ. And let God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, be praised now and forevermore."

Such was the life and such were the labors of Dr. Perkins as sketched by himself. The rare simplicity and directness of his autobiography and the lessons of it are so clear that very little is left for other hands to add.

It was a most industrious life. From the beginning to the end of it there was the same unvarying devotion to some useful end. We think he erred in allowing himself too little recreation. But it was a maxim with him that recreation could be obtained as much from a change of labor as from an entire cessation from it. Most persons would have felt that the calls of his professional life were sufficient to engross all his attention. He judged differently. Without neglecting these, he seized upon the little interstices of time, and by using them diligently he laid up his large stores of varied information. While he had an eager thirst for knowledge for its own sake, he was remarkably free from any desire for display. Ruskin has well said "it is ill for science when men desire to talk rather than to know."

His mind seized with avidity all hints and suggestions, whether they came from nature or from the minds of his fellow men. The old bones brought home by a Newburyport ship-master, set him at work in comparative anatomy. The news of the approach of a comet led him to the study of Newton's "Principia," and to rambling among the stars. A tiny plant would beckon him to the fields, the groves and the river-side.

It was a pure life. Every one who came in contact with him, even for a single half hour, was impressed with the guilelessness of his heart and soul. No word of his but might have been spoken anywhere and to any person. The earliest schoolmate or the latest friend of his recognized him as "the pure in heart."

It was a life of untarnished integrity. Starting in his profession with the purpose that he would depend entirely upon himself for the support of his family, he was compelled for many years to practise the most careful frugality. It was a hard and long struggle for a young man to

gain a professional standing and a remunerative employment in such a community as ours.

But in all his transactions he was truthful and honest, and with the Apostle he could say at the close of a long life, "I have defrauded no man." Nor was this integrity of a hard, cold, calculating nature. He would go as readily at the call of the poor from whom he could expect no return, as at the call of the rich, who could reward him most bountifully. And in his account book, he left special directions to those who might have the charge of his affairs, that no poor person should be put to hardship by the payment of his bills.

It was a life without sham or deception. Had our friend been less transparent and outspoken he might have had a larger measure of what the world calls success. But his whole nature revolted from all imposition, trickery or charlatanism. He never pretended to do impossibilities, nor would he excite hopes when he saw there was no foundation for them. It was not often that his usually quiet and genial disposition was disturbed; but nothing would ruffle it sooner than the discovery of imposture or deceit. He was severe upon such exhibitions in his own profession, but not less so in business or in society.

It was a thoroughly religious life. He united with the church in Harris Street, May 1, 1834 and was dismissed from that communion, September 5, 1845. He joined the Whitefield Church Jan. 1, 1850, being one of the twenty original members of that church.

His piety was simple and unostentatious. While he made no parade of it, he never flinched from avowing his faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of lost men. He gave to the matters of religion his most earnest and most profound consideration, and was a Christian be-

liever not less from the convictions of his reason, than from the associations and training of his early life. He was a man of prayer. The sweet incense of it rose from his home, his office and from the bedside of his patient. Although a man of science he was a firm believer in the efficacy of prayer. Dr. Perkins believed in it, because he had proved its efficacy in his own experience. His faith did not rest, however, on any test to which he had put it, but on his conviction of the reality of God's spiritual kingdom, the laws of which he felt that he but imperfectly understood. As a religious man his ground of trust was in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

No man was more deeply sensible of his faults than our friend. To one who spoke to him as though he had few, if any, defects of character, he said, "You do not know me." It was this deep sense of faultiness which led him so often to the mercy-seat, and which filled all his petitions to heaven with humble confessions. He was a believer in the divine authority of the Scriptures. The revelations of science never for a moment shook his firm belief in the Bible, as the revelation of God. He was no blind slave of the letter. He never put the Scriptures and science in antagonism. If for a time they seemed to be so, he would say, "This is only apparent. The Author of the two books is the same, and they will be found harmonious by-and-by." He was accustomed to speak of religion as historically old, and science as historically young, and when annoyed or perplexed by the hasty deductions of the friends of either, he declined to express an opinion, saying, "I want more time." His religious hope took a peculiar inspiration and grandeur from his firm faith in the immortality of the soul.

There was singular beauty and force of meaning in the incident related by a friend.

Said a visitor to him at parting, "I am twenty odd years younger than you; if I should survive you, there is one thing I wish you would leave me."

"What is that?" said the Doctor, smiling.

"Your mind, Doctor."

"Oh! that is little enough, — but you know, my dear friend, it is the only thing I can take with me."

In Dr. Perkins we see how consistent and beautiful is the life of a man of science and a sincere Christian. There is something in the study of the works of God calculated to make men humble and devout. It has sometimes seemed to us that literature and science had a different effect upon students, that while one led a man to value and often overrate his own ideas, the other kept him simple and humble in the presence of the great facts of nature.

We have certainly in the life of our friend, a beautiful example of a critical scholar, yet a devout Christian believer, a man of science and yet a man of God, a friend of progress, and yet holding fast to all that was good and true,—a physician by profession, but a friend and helper by choice — truthful, genial, pure, honest, he has finished his course on earth, and gone to join the society of the spirits of just men made perfect in glory.

On Saturday morning, February 1, 1873, our friend was taken ill. No special danger was apprehended during the day, though some anxiety was felt. About 7 o'clock that evening, while physicians were in the house and friends were near him, he suddenly closed his eyes upon this world and fell asleep in Jesus.

JOANNA QUINER.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, BY REV. PHEBE A. HANAFORD.

Essex County, Massachusetts, has furnished its full share of the noticeable men and women of the commonwealth, and the maritime town of Beverly has not failed to supply its quota. Among these should be mentioned the subject of this sketch, according to the acknowledgment of the editor of the "North American Review," when he said, in July, 1843 [Vol. xlii], while referring to Stone's "History of Beverly,"—"One omission we notice with surprise. In a town more remarkable for the sober good sense and unostentatious manners of its inhabitants than for their taste in the fine arts, the discovery of an undoubted genius is a remarkable event, and deserving of record. Miss Quiner, of Beverly, with proper patronage and advantages, would take no mean rank among American artists. Without instruction or cultivation of any sort, her talent for modelling in clay has already attracted much notice."

Miss Quiner was born in Beverly, on the 27th day of August, 1796. Although her parents and herself were natives of New England, yet she is of French descent on the paternal side (the name Quiner being generally spelled Coignard in France) and of Scotch on the maternal, her mother being a descendant of the well known clan whose war-cry is "The Campbells are coming," some of which clan early settled in Virginia. Her mother's

name was Susanna, the daughter of John and Susanna (Bishop) Campbell, of Gloucester. Her death occurred in April, 1843. She was the mother of thirteen children, of whom Joanna was the fourth. No less than three of those children, young men, were lost at sea. Mr. Abraham Quiner, the father of Joanna, was a native of Marblehead, from which town his father sailed in the Rambler, an American privateer, in the Revolutionary war. The Rambler was captured by the English frigate Sibyl, and her officers and crew, being found in arms against the British government, were imprisoned. Mr. Quiner was among the unfortunate sufferers who were incarcerated in Mill Prison, Plymouth, England. A copy of the warrant used in his arrest was in Miss Quiner's possession, and reads as follows: —

"Devon. To the Constables of the Parish of Stock Demeril in the said County, and to keepers of the Place of Confinement lately appointed by his Majesty, by warrant, under his sign Manuel called Old Mill Prison in the Borough of Plymouth in the said County, and to each and every of them. Forasmuch as it appears unto James Young and Ralph Mitchel, Esq'rs, two of the Justices of our Lord the King, assigned to keep the peace within the said County, on the examination of Abraham Quiner, Mariner, late of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in North America, a Prisoner brought before us charged with being found in Arms and in Rebellion on the High Seas on board the Rambler, Brig, American Privateer, sailed out at Marblehead in the North America, and Commissioned by the North American Congress, which was taken by the Sibyl, English Frigate. Taken before us this day. That he the said Abraham Quiner was taken at sea, in the High Treason Act, committed on the High Seas (out of the realm), on the 21st day of October last, being then and there found in Arms, levying war in Rebellion, and aiding the King's Enemies, and was landed in Dock, in the county of Devon, and the said Abraham Quiner now

brought before us at Stock Demeril aforesaid—charged with and to be committed for the said offence to the Old Mill Prison in the Borough of Plymouth in the said County, that being one of the Places appointed for the Confinement of such Prisoners by his said Majesty under his Royal sign Manuel, in Pursuance of an Act of Parliament in that case made and Provided in the 17th year of his High Reign.

These are therefore in his Majesty's Name to Enquire and Command your said Constables safely to the body of the said Abraham Quiner, into your Custody, and him safely keep in the said place of Confinement untill he shall be discharged from thence by due course of Law. And for your so doing this shall be to you and every of you a sufficient warrent.

Given under our Hands and Seals the 16th day of February, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty."

There appears to be no signature to the document from which the above is copied *verbatim*, but the names of Jas. Young and Ralph Mitchel are in the margin.

The son of this sufferer in the sacred cause of American freedom, was, as stated above, the father of the sculptor whose ancestry and biography are here sketched. His character may be somewhat known from the following obituary notice, which appeared in the local paper at the time of his decease:—

"In Beverly, yesterday morning, Mr. Abraham Quiner, aged 73. Funeral this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, from his late residence in Bartlett St. Friends and relatives are invited to attend. Through a long life he maintained an unsullied name. His death has overshadowed with gloom the community in which he lived, for he was one who united in himself the character of an upright citizen and a useful member of society. In all the domestic relations he was an example worthy of emulation; and although he had passed the time allotted to the life of man, his departure has caused an aching void in our midst.

Truly can we say of him, 'An honest man's the noblest work of God.'"

An ancient document was placed in my hands at one time by Miss Quiner, which is of interest as showing the character of thoee who are counted among her ancestry. It was an original letter from her paternal great-grandmother, and bore date, thus written:—"Febeary ye 13, 1768," and was penned in Gosport, on the Isle of Shoals. The writer was the daughter of a clergyman who for many years labored in that place. Her maiden name was Muchmore, and one of her sisters was the mother of Joseph White, of Salem, Mass., at the trial of whose murderers Daniel Webster made the famous speech, in which occur the words "suicide is confession." The following is a *verbatim* copy of the letter, which, if it may show that the writer did not conform closely to Webster or Worcester in her orthography, will also exhibit the sentiments of a truly pious heart. The letter was directed to Miss Quiner's grandfather Quiner and his wife, then in Marblehead, Mass.

"Dear children, these few lines come to you with my kinde love and tender affections to you all, hoping in God they will finde you all alive and in helth, tho they leave me weak and feeble, and full of trouble. Dear children, I now Rite to you in much affliction, and with many tears, to let you know that the Lord hath taken away your Father by Death. He died the 5 day of this mounth. He was sick three mounths, and now I am left as a woman forsaken and grieved in Spirit. I am forsaken of my husband by Death, and of my children wile alive, and I have none to comfort me but the Lord who hath biden me call upon Him in trouble and He hath promised to hear and to deliver. On this good God do I Relie, who hath promised to be a 'husband to the widow and a father to the fatherless.' To Him do I commit my-

self and you, my dear children. Let me hear from you as soon as possible you can. I would have you give my kind love to my Brother and Sister, and to my Dear Cousin, Mr. Coombes, and his wife, who hath been very kind to me and to all other friends and Relations, and tell them all of my trouble. I desire their prayers and yours for me, for my trouble is great, and wants many.

So no more at present, but I remain your loving mother till Death. RUTH DOWNE.

The letter as written by the author was not punctuated, but in other respects is very legible, and indicates a proficiency in penmanship and composition hardly to be expected in the Isle of Shoals, over a century ago."

Miss Quiner's life was spent mainly in Essex County. Lynn, Salem and Beverly at various times afforded her a home. For a short period she was a resident of Boston, pursuing her avocation as a seamstress. At one time she spent a week in the home of Theodore Parker, engaged in some upholstery work for the family, and enjoying, with a rare appreciation of his character, the opportunity of hearing and seeing one whom she held in highest esteem as a philanthropist and religious teacher. She was at another time, and for quite a long period, an assistant in the family of Dr. Bass, who had charge of the Boston Athenæum. Here she first discovered that she had any talent as a sculptor. One day, as she informed me, she was in the Athenæum, when Clevenger, the artist, was engaged in modelling. Julia, a daughter of Daniel Webster, and a young lady friend were there, watching the sculptor's progress in moulding the plastic clay. He offered to give them clay, and let them try to model some image. They accepted. When they brought their scarcely successful results, Miss Quiner declared she could do better than that, and Clevenger encouraged her

to try. The first attempt showed that she had a remarkable aptitude for the art. A head of Dr. Bass was produced which was declared life-like, and from that hour the humble sewing woman took rank among sculptors, since the sculptor's true work is in creating the clay model, rather than in chiselling the marble.

Dr. J. V. C. Smith, in the "Boston Transcript" of Jan. 19, 1843, thus refers to this woman sculptor who did not know till she was more than forty years of age, that she had any ability to work in clay:—

"A Female Artist. A lady by the name of Quiner, residing in the quiet town of Beverly, will soon distance some of the leading artists in modelling in clay, if her future efforts are suitably encouraged. She has had but very little experience and not many opportunities for exercising her ingenuity; yet the busts already executed are as true to nature as the most critical eye could desire. Perhaps the very best, thus far, in the series of her efforts, is the head of Robert Rantoul, Esq., of that town, whose strongly marked features are copied with the nicest accuracy. It is said that being on a visit to the Athenæum exhibition, she was particularly struck with the statuary, and became so strongly persuaded that it was an easy thing to model, that a friend procured for her a lump of clay that she might ascertain, by actual trial, whether she possessed that kind of genius which seemed to have been so suddenly developed, or, rather, excited into a state of activity. The very first attempt was an excellent production, and we feel warranted in saying that several specimens, which have escaped from the artist's rural studio into the parlors and libraries of the admirers of such admirable works, need only to be seen abroad, to insure Miss Quiner a wide-spreading fame."

Previous to this notice by this literary notable, afterwards mayor of Boston, there appeared a notice of Miss

Quiner, in the Salem "Advertiser and Argus," of March 23, 1842, headed "Fine Arts." It was as follows:—

"We are informed that Miss Joanna Quiner, of Beverly, has recently executed models for busts of two gentlemen of Beverly, which will compare well with those which have been executed by experienced artists in Boston. She has had only a few years experience in an art which she commenced without instruction, and has made only seven models. We commend her to those who wish to employ an artist in this line, to examine her work of this season, and compare it with that of others, before they make any engagement. Busts of hers are at the Athenæum in Boston, and at Capt. George Abbott's, Mr. Wm. Endicott's and Mr. Robert Rantoul's houses in Beverly, and at Rev. A. P. Peabody's house in Portsmouth."

This kind and truthful advertisement, penned by a friend connected with the press (and of these she had many), did not bring her much employment, for she lacked the youth and beauty and wealth which might have assisted in bringing her before the public as an artist. She had always the cross of an unprepossessing person to bear, and her life was often an unequal struggle with poverty. She was industrious, but with all her industry with her needle, or as a sculptor, or, in later years, at the sewing machine, she could scarcely "keep the wolf from the door." Had not kind and appreciating friends assisted her in a delicate way, for her commendable pride forbade the request for help, she would have suffered for the necessaries of life, while yet she possessed more genius, in the way which made Michael Angelo famous, than any other woman of Essex County.

Among the busts which Miss Quiner modelled, and which were afterwards cast in plaster, besides those already mentioned, were those of Hon. Albert Thorndike,

Frothingham the artist, Alonzo Lewis, the "Lynn Bard," Fitch Poole, Esq., editor of the South Danvers (now Peabody) "Wizard," and Wm. H. Lovett, Esq., of Beverly. The last bust which she modelled, I believe, was that of the writer of this sketch, and it was done as a labor of love, at her own desire. Never shall I forget the pleasant hours which were passed in her little studio in Cabot St., Beverly, which was at that time her parlor, kitchen, and, one corner of it, properly screened, her sleeping apartment. Our acquaintance had been formed in the temperance societies, of which we were both members; and the hearty interest, which the subject of this sketch always manifested in the good cause of total abstinence, won and kept for her my friendship, which grew stronger as I learned to look beneath the rather repelling outward appearance and blunt manners, and speech full of the "remorseless truth" (which her ideal of a good man—Theodore Parker—loved so well), and saw the true, warm heart, the genuine nobility of character, the stern and pure integrity of soul, which constituted the woman, so little understood and appreciated. Her ability as an artist I once acknowledged in a sonnet, for which I may pardonably claim a place in this sketch, since I know it gave her great pleasure amid the sorrows of her lonely life. I had just been looking upon the plaster bust of one of "nature's noblemen" which she had modelled, and wrote:—

TO JOANNA QUINER.

And this is woman's work! this noble brow,
  These "features cast in Nature's finest mould,"
Thy skill evoked from out the damp, dull clay,
  To gladden loving hearts as they behold.
Thine is a noble mission, thus to spare
  From dark oblivion many a noble head;

The casket whence the priceless gem is gone
May still be dear for memories yet unfled;
And thou art favored thus to shadow forth,
Though dimly, as thou thinkest, woman's power,
Her talent, genius, intellectual might,
And holy sympathy, her precious dower.
God mould thy spirit till like Him thou art,
And stamp His sacred image on thy heart!

This was in 1860, and during the same year I wrote another sonnet as follows:—

ON SEEING A BUST BY MISS QUINER.

With sudden thought I paused beside the bust,
And Cowper's touching words unbidden rose,
"O that those lips had language!" and those eyes
Lit with the fire of soul might once unclose!
Yet not with Uzziah sacrilege would I
Seek aught beyond the will of love supreme,
Nor sigh, Pygmalion-like, that life be given
To aught of human mould, tho' fair it seem.
Man may the marble shape, the plastic clay
Mould, till the thinking brain, the throbbing heart,
Seem only needed to perfect the whole:
The breath of life God only can impart.
Thanks for those powers which link us to the skies,
Though ne'er to our Creator's height we rise.

I cannot but express the hope that the name of Joanna Quiner will not be forgotten among those women who believe in the use of all the powers which God has given. "She hath done what she could" to show that woman may achieve the triumphs of art, as well as man, when gifted by the Creator with similar powers, and if Harriet Hosmer and Emma Stebbins and Margaret Foley have done much more than she, still impartial justice will write her name with theirs, in the list of women brave to dare and strong to do.

Religiously, Miss Quiner was a radical, or free-religion-

ist; at least what would be called such at the present day. She revered the great iconoclast, Parker, and his words were as welcome to her as to her English sister-woman, Frances Power Cobbe. She never made any profession of religion, but was content to live purely and nobly. She trusted God, who had called her into being, and was ever ready "to do good as she had opportunity;" when she died, she went peacefully to Him whose power and love she believed would still surround her in all the untried paths of another life. Her theology and her religion were one, and were both comprised in the two commandments on which "hang all the law and the prophets."

She spent the last few months of her life in Lynn, Mass., tenderly cared for by a sister, and died there in 1869, and her remains now rest in her native town of Beverly. Not long before her departure she presented her picture, painted by Frothingham, to the Beverly Public Library. The following courteous letter, from the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, will show the estimation in which she was held in her native town.

BEVERLY, July 28, 1868.

Miss J. Quiner, Lynn, Mass.

DEAR MADAM:—The Trustees of the Beverly Public Library acknowledge the offer of your portrait, through Mrs. P. A. Hanaford, which we shall be pleased to receive in due time,—and to place before our people, many of whom have long known you as a neighbor and a friend.

We have all known you as one whose labors and success in a difficult department of art have reflected much credit not only upon yourself, but upon your sex and the town with which you are identified. The portrait of such an one, executed with Mr. Frothingham's skill, is itself an encouragement to faithfulness and perseverance in every honorable calling, and as such, appropriately fills a

place in our library rooms, adding the suggestive and educating force of character to that of books, which our young may constantly read.

We have requested Mrs. Hanaford to forward the picture, carefully packed, to our address. It will receive immediate attention upon arrival.

Permit us to convey the assurance of our personal regard, and our best wishes for your comfort, health and happiness, Very respectfully yours,

For the Trustees,
FRANKLIN LEACH, *Sec'y.*

It will be many a day before her name will be forgotten in her native town, and if this brief and necessarily imperfect sketch shall serve to make her better known to others, I shall feel that my labor has not been in vain, since I shall have introduced them to a strong-souled woman who was an honor to her sex.

She has gone to the Father's house. She was not cultured nor beautiful, nor winning in manner and speech, and she had no outward connection with the church of Christ. The thoughtless and ignorant called her an infidel, when in truth her unfaltering faith could shame their own. In the memorable days when I sat in her studio, as a friend and model, she cheerfully permitted me to read aloud from the Holy Scriptures, and many a word did she utter which showed that infidel though she might be styled by those who knew her not, yet in her heart was "the well of water springing up unto everlasting life." That grace was there which was the strength of principle, the wisdom of activity, the impulse of benevolence, and therefore her life was no failure, but fulfilled divinest uses, and was a prelude to that music where all discords are hushed, and the divine will brings forth eternal harmony.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

THE following names and dates were first copied for the compiler's private use; and comprise but a portion of each original inscription.

Pond St. Burial-ground, on the Hill.

ABORN, JAMES, Sept. 28, 1803, aged 57 years.
ADAMS, WILLIAM. [Seaman's Monument.*] 1837.
" WILLIAM B. [Mon.] 1846.
" THOMAS H. " Lost at sea. 1834.
" NICHOLAS G. " " " " 1881.
AGNES, negro woman to Samuel Russell. July 12, 1718, aged 45 years.
ALLEN, WILLIAM, died at sea. Feb. 24, 1838, aged 51 yrs.
" MARY, wife of William. Sept. 30, 1858, aged 77 yrs.
" BENJ. D., son of Wm. and Mary. Sept. 18, 1823, aged 20 m.
ANDERTON, THOMAS. Aug. 25, 1796, aged 62 yrs., 8 m.
" MARY, wife of Thomas. Nov. 29, 1793, aged 52 yrs., 8 m.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Thos. and Mary. June 15, 1782, aged 35 y., 1 m., 25 d.
" MOSES, son of Thos. and Mary. May 17, 1819, aged 43 yrs.
ANDREWS, HANNAH, wife of John. Sept. 30, 1794, aged 68 yrs.

* An imposing monument stands in this ground, "Erected A.D. 1848, by the Marblehead Charitable Seaman Society, Instituted Feb. 12, 1831, in memory of its deceased members, on shore and at sea." The number died on shore is 19. Lost at sea, 30. On the Grand Banks, Newfoundland, in the gale of Sept. 19, 1846, as represented on this monument, 14. But an inscription says, "Whole number lost from Marblehead in this gale, 65 men and boys, 43 heads of families, leaving 43 widows and 155 fatherless children." Members' names appearing in the following list will be distinguished by "mon.," in parenthesis, after them.

ANDREWS, [ANDRAS] JOSEPH, only son of Jos. and Hannah. . Apr. 23, 1793, aged 35 yrs., 1 m.
ASHTON, JOSEPH. Aug. 22, 1725, 47th yr.
" ABIGAIL, dau. of Jos. and Mary. Aug. 27, 1720, aged 5.
" JANE, wife of Philip. Dec. 10, 1727, —0th yr.
" SARAH ANN, dau. of Benj. and Sarah. Apr. 22, 1844, aged 4.
ATKINS, NATHANIEL H. (mon.), lost at sea. 1840.

BAILEY, Capt. JOHN. Apr. 21, 1828, aged 67.
" MARY, wife of Capt. John. May 13, 1840, aged 78.
" JOHN, son of Capt. John and Mary. Sept. 30, 1789, aged 10 m., 8 d.
BARNARD, JOHN, Rev. Jan. 25, 1770, aged 89.
" ANNA, wife of Rev. John. Aug. 24, 1774, aged 78.
BARTLETT, RUTHE, wife of John. Feb. 4, 1803, aged 52.
" ABIGAIL, " " " Nov. 6, 1817, aged 28 yrs., 10 m.
BARTOL, Capt. John. Oct. 8, 1771, aged 58.
" MARY, wife of Capt. John. Apr. 23, 1766, aged 50 yrs., 7 m.
" SAMUEL, son of John and Sarah. Feb. 14, 1759, aged 20 yrs., 7 m.
" WILLIAM T. Feb. 15, 1859, aged 47.
" SARAH LOUISA, dau. of Wm. T. Jan. 17, 1844, aged 6 y., 7 m.
BARTOLL, ALSTON, son of Wm. T. June 7, 1849, aged 1 y.
" LINDSAY, " " " " Aug. 8, 1857, aged 4 y., 9 m.
BASSETT, MARY, wife of John. Jan. 6, 1789, 58th yr.
BERENCE, MARY, dau. of John and Mary. Aug. 31, 1805, aged 3 y., 11 m.
" JOHN T., son of John and Mary. Sept. 12, 1805, aged 11 m.
BERRY, EBENEZER. Feb. 6, 1817, aged 45 y., 6 m.
" BETSY (on stone of Rob't Quill, Jr., and others). Apr. 1, 1844, aged 71.
BESOM, REBECCA, wife of Joseph. Mar. 18, 1854, aged 39 y., 5 m.
" JOSEPH, son of Joseph and Rebecca. July 18, 1790, aged 2 y.
" PHILIP. Sept. 4, 1797, aged 66.
" SARAH, wife of Philip. Dec. 22, 1802, aged 66 y., 2 m.
" RICHARD. Feb. 3, 1812, aged 81.
" SARAH, wife of Richard. Sept. 17, 1802, aged 70.
BOARDMAN, FRANCIS. Mar. 31, 1823, aged 56.
BONFIELD, REBECCA, wife of George, "who did much good in her life," Apr. 30, '87, aged —.
BOWDEN, ELIZABETH, wife of Benj. and dau. of Benj. and Elizabeth Graves, Sept. 19, 1794, aged 21 y., 10 m.
" THOMAS, son of Twisden and Sarah, Oct. 4, 1771, aged 3 y.
BOWEN, JOSEPH C. (mon.), gale of Sept. 19, 1846.

BRAY, Capt. BENJAMIN, Mar. 1, 1807, aged 32 y., 18 d.
" SARAH, wife of Benjamin, leaving 2 ch., Feb. 11, 1801, aged 22 yrs., 7 m.
BRIDGEO, GEORGE. July 17, 1832, aged 64.
" MARY, wife of George, July 14, 1796, aged 32.
" MARY, dau. of George and Mary, Sept. 13, 1790, aged 22 mo.
" MARY, " " " " " Aug. 18, 1794, aged 22 mo.
" HANNAH, dau. of " " " Oct. 7, 1795, aged 19 mo.
" MARY, " " " " " Aug. 13, 1796, aged 8 mo.
" MARY, wife of George, Nov. 11, 1806, 29th yr.
" NANCY, widow of George. Dec. 9, 1855, aged 70.
" PHILIP. Nov. 1, 1820, aged 61.
" HANNAH, wife of Philip. Nov. 4, 1845, aged 87.
" MARY, dau. of Philip and Hannah. Jan. 19, 1805, aged 20 y., 2 m., 26 d.
" PHILIP (mon.), at sea. 1844.
" GEORGE, " in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
BRIMBLECOME, LUCY, wife of Sam'l, jr., "with seven small children by her side." June 12, 1757, aged 39 y., 1 m., 30 d.
" PHILIP, Sr. Apr., 1797, aged — —.
" PHILIP, eldest son of Philip and Hannah. Feb. 1, 1824, aged 37 y., 2 m.
" SEAWARD, brother of Philip, Sr. At St. Pierre's, Martinico, June 17, 1818, aged —.
" SAMUEL. Mar. 4, 1807, aged 64 y., 4 m., 8 d.
" JANE, wife of Samuel. May 19, 1803, aged 61.
BRINTNAL, MARY, wife of John. Jan. 20, 1688, aged 24.
BROWN, JOHN. Feb. 17, 1702-3, aged about 13.
" Capt. JOHN. May 17, 1707, aged 47.
" WILLIAM, Nov. 17, 1786, aged 55 y., 3 m.
" Capt. JOHN (and 4 ch. under 3 yrs). Sept. 10, 1816, aged 79 y.
" AMEY, wife of Capt. John. Feb. 27, 1826, aged 87.
" JOHN. Nov. 15, 1826, aged 66.
" HANNAH, wife of John. May 4, 1806, aged 49.
" MARY, 2d w. of John. Feb. 19, 1811, aged 54.
" ANNA, wife of Peter. Dec. 27, 1810, aged 26.
" Capt. RICHARD. Aug. 30, 1827, aged 44 y., 10 m.
" CALEB, son of Capt. Richard and Mary A. Sept. 28, 1814, aged 1 y.
" PETER, son of Capt. Richard and Mary A. June 8, 1817, aged 5 y., 5 m.
" JAMES OLIVER, son of John and Sarah. Mar. 7, 1798, aged 12 y.

BROWN, HANNAH B., dau. of John and Sarah. May 31, 1805, aged 12 y., 6 m.
" THOMAS, son of John and Sarah. Sept. 28, 1806, aged 2 y.
" MARY, wife of Capt. Thomas. May 12, 1802, aged 44.
" Mrs. TAMSON. May 12, 1804, aged 67 y., 9 m.
" HANNAH, wife of Capt. Edward. July 10, 1809, aged 47.
" JOSEPH. Apr. 8, 1834, aged 85.
" LUCRETIA, wid. of Joseph. May 21, 1857, aged 83 y., 8 m.
" WILLIAM P. (mon.). 1838.
" REBECCA, wife of Wm. P. and dau. of Capt. Richard and Rebecca Dixey. Aug. 4, 1807, aged 26 y., 4 m.
" JOHN (mon.). 1845.
BRUCE, Capt. DAVID, Jr. (his wid. Alice md. Samuel Chinn). Sept. 19, 1794, aged 21 y., 10 m.
BUBIER, Capt. JOSEPH. Dec. 20, 1783, aged 45.
" CHRISTOPHER. June 30, 1786, aged 83.
" MARGARET, wife of Christopher. Feb. 2, 1782, aged 73.
" Mrs. RUTH. Footstone, quite ancient.
" RUTH, widow of Capt. John. Jan. 13, 1791, aged 56.
" DEBORAH, wife of William. Sept. 17, 1808, aged 62.
BURKE, LOIS, wife of William. Mar. 6, 1773, aged 26.
BURNHAM, Capt. JOHN. Aug. 25, 1798, aged 63.

CALLEY, MARY, relict of John. Oct. 19, 1796, aged 63 y., 2 m.
" GRACE BUBIER, dau. of Thomas and Grace. Oct. 12, 1801, aged 16 m., 16 d.
CARDER, MARY, dau. of Joel and Elizabeth. Dec. 26, 1804, aged 57.
" HANNAH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. Apr. 2, 1760. 32d yr.
CAREW, GEORGE, of Barbadoes, late from Jamaica. Aug. 13, 1750, aged 27.
CARSWELL, RICHARD (mon.). 1837.
CHADWICK, CHARLES, b. Aug. 1, 1774, lost at sea, Sept., 1815.
" RUTH, wid. of Charles, b. Sept. 1, 1781, d. Jan. 20, 1871.
" CHARLES (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
CHAPMAN, SAMUEL. Aug. 7, 1799, aged 52 y., 6 m.
CHARAMEL, SARAH, wife of Alexis and dau. of Capt. John and Sarah Doliber. Sept. 3, 1816, aged 24.
" JOSEPH, son of Alexis and Sarah. Oct. 23, 1816, aged 7 m.
CHEEVER, Rev. SAMUEL. May 29, 1724.
CHINN, SAMUEL. Dec. 13, 1806, aged 65 y., 9 m.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Feb. 5, 1826, aged 80 y., 7 m.
" ROBERT B. (also on mon.). May 29, 1846, aged 59 y., 8 m.
" SARAH K., wife of Robert B. Mar. 2, 1872, aged 80 y., 4 m.

CHINN, ALICE, wife of Samuel, and widow of Capt. David Bruce, Jr. Dec. 4, 1866, aged 73 y., 6 m., 18 d.

" GEORGE. Jan. 9, 1843, aged 59 y., 11 m.

" MARY, wife of George. Sept. 1, 1847, aged 62 y., 8 m.

" JAMES O., son of George and Mary. Sept. 14, 1836, aged 17 y., 10 m.

" GEORGE (mon.). 1845.

CLARK, JOHN. June 9, 1784, aged 55 y.

CLOUGH, SARAH, wife of Ebenezer. Nov. 28, 1786, 56th y.

" SAMUEL, only ch. of Ebenezer. Sept. 28, 1787, aged 22 y., 2 m.

CLOUTMAN, SUSANNA, dau. of Thos. and Susanna. Nov. 27, 1791, aged 2 y., 11 m.

" THOMAS (mon.). 1836.

" RUTH, dau. of John and Anna. Dec. 14, 1800, aged 2 y., 6 m.

" SALLY H., dau. of John and Anna. Aug. 14, 1810, aged 14 y., 6 m.

" HENRY. July 22, 1850, aged 75 y., 6 m.

" MARY, wife of Henry and dau. of Capt. John Traill. Feb. 4, 1807, 27th y.

" NANCY, wife of Capt. Henry. Dec. 21, 1843, aged 57 y.

" S. ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. Henry and Nancy. Apr. 26, 1852, aged 24 y., 11 m.

" ROBERT (on stone of George and Mary Knight), at sea (also on mon.). June 18, 1839, aged 41 y., 9 m.

COCKS, HANNAH, eldest dau. of Capt. James and Margaret. July 14, 1802, aged 16 y.

COLLYER, JOHN, 1st son of John and Sarah. Apr. 21, 1798, aged 2 y., 5 m., 22 d.

" JOHN, 2d son of John and Sarah. Oct. 21, 1802, aged 10 m., 21 d.

" SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Mercy. Sept. 9, 1794, aged 11 m., 23 d.

" SAMUEL (mon.). 1839.

" ISAAC " 1847.

CONANT, JOHN. Apr. 19, 1738, 89th y.

" ELIZABETH, wife of John. July 3, 1711, aged 79 y.

COUNTEY, NICHOLAS. Jan. 21, 1800, aged 39.

COURTIS, WILLIAM, Capt. Nov. 20, 1779, aged 59 y., 2 m.

" SARAH, first wife of Capt William. Jan. 1, 1765, aged 43 y., 6 m.

" ELIZABETH, second wife of Capt. Wm. Dec. 11, 1771, 38th y.

" JOHN (mon.), in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.

COWELL, JEMIMA, wife of Richard. July 12, 1755, aged 32.

CRATEY, ANDREW. May 10, 1695, aged 44.
CROCKER, URIEL. Apr. 12, 1813, aged 45.
" MARY, wife of Uriel and dau. of Israel and Mary Eaton. Sept. 14, 1790, aged 20 y., 8 m.
" MARY, wife of Uriel. Aug. 27, 1811, aged 38 y.
" ELIZABETH JAMES, dau. of Uriel and Mary. Apr., 1810, aged 6 m.
" FRANCIS BOARDMAN, son of Uriel and Mary, Aug. 11, 1813, aged 5 y.
CROSS, Capt. JOHN, who, with all on board, was lost at sea in the Traveller. 1804, aged 36.
" ABIGAIL, wid. of Capt. John. Mar. 5, 1821, aged 52 y.
" JOSEPH S., son of Capt. John and Abigail, at Hamburg, by a fall from the mast-head of Brig Eagle. Apr. 21, 1821, aged 21.
" JOHN, ELIZABETH D., and WM. HAMMOND, infants of Capt. John.
CROWNINSHIELD, JANE, wife of Wm. and only dau. of Jona. and Jane Thompson. Jan. 27, 1771, aged 36 y.
" MARY, dau. of Edward and Mary. Sept. 4, 1807, aged 15 y., 11 m.
" WILLIAM (mon.), lost at sea. 1845.
CUNNINGHAM, ———, wife of Edward and dau. of Thomas and Mary Millet, b. Jan. 10, 1748; d. Aug. 2, 1770.
CURTIS, SALLY, wid. of William M. Sept. 8, 1852, aged 80 y.
" JOSEPH. Dec. 28, 1804, aged 48 y.
" SARAH, wid. of Joseph. Jan. 28, 1812, aged 45.

DARLING, BENJAMIN. June 12, 1777, aged 66.
" HENRY, son of Benj. and Elleanor. Sept. 1, 1743, aged 2 y., 3 m., 6 d.
" JOHN, son of Benj. and Elleanor. Jan. 22, 1775, aged 20 y., 11 m.
" TABITHA, wid. of the late Benj., Jr. June 26, 1762, aged 31 y.
DARRELL, THOS. ASPINWALL, son of Thos. and Sarah. Oct. 28, 1770, aged 2 y., 4 m.
DEAN, ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Apr. 27, 1796, aged 24 y., 6 m.
DENNIS, MARY, dau. of Capt. John and Rebecca. Oct. 11, 1769, aged 2 y.
" MARY, dau. of Capt. John and Rebecca. Aug. 25, 1775, aged —, and two still born twins.
" JAMES, son of Capt. John and Rebecca. Oct. 26, 1795, aged 19 y.

DENNIS, ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Apr. 27, 1796, aged —, 6m., 11d.
" JONAS. Apr. 2, 1835, aged 88 y.
" SARAH, wife of Jonas. June 24, 1818, aged 66 y., 6 m.
" MARY, dau. of Jonas and Sarah. Aug. 5, 1781, aged 22 m.
" SALLY, " " " " " Sept. 1, 1792, aged 2 wks.
" MARY, " " " " " Feb. 22, 1802, aged 20 y.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Jonas and Sarah. Mar. 1, 1815, aged 30 y., 6 m.
" WILLIAM, lost at sea. 1821, aged 59.
" MARY, wife of William. June 28, 1821, aged 32.
" JOHN D. (mon.). 1831.
" SALLY, relict of Daniel. Apr. 3, 1844, aged 56.

DEVEREUX, HUMPHREY, tomb. 1758.
" RUTH RUDDOCK, dau. of Nath'l K. and Tabitha. Sept. 10, 1795, aged 13 m.
" MARY K., dau. of Nath'l K. and Tabitha. May 17, 1802, aged 16 m., 3 d.
" RUTH [wid. of Ralph]. Feb. 27, 1809, aged 97.
" ROBERT, Jr. (mon.), lost at sea. 1834.
" ELIZABETH GERRY, dau. of Burrill and Elizabeth. May 23, 1872, aged 90 y., 6 m.

DIXEY, MARY, wife of Thomas. Feb. 2, 1757, aged 35 y., 1 m.
" DAVID, son of Capt. David and Anes. Mar. 29, 1760, aged 2 y., 9 m., 15 d.
" JOHN. Dec. 15, 1848, aged 82 y., 4 m.
" ELIZABETH, wife of John. Apr. 23, 1848, aged 82.
" OVID, son of John and Rebecca. Jan. 19, 1818, aged 3 y., 5 m.
" Capt. RICHARD. Apr. 10, 1800, aged 56 y., 7 m.
" RICHARD. Apr. 23, 1858, aged 53 y., 7 m., 4 d.
" SALLY, wife of Richard. Apr. 7, 1852, aged 43 y., 4 m., 19 d.
" HANNAH S., dau. of Richard and Sally. Jan. 22, 1833, aged 4 m., 13 d.
" MARY J., dau. of Richard and Sally. Oct. 2, 1837, aged 9 m., 29 d.
" THOMAS, son of Richard and Sally. Oct. 3, 1857, aged 7 y., 8 m., 5 d.
" REBECCA, grandmother to Mary G., wife of John Homan, and Rebecca Homan, wife of Elbridge G. Martin. Nov. 9, 1807, aged 61.
" PETER, tomb. 1839.

DOAK, HANNAH, wife of James. Nov. 4, 1775, aged 26 y., 6 m.
" MARY. Mar. 21, 1842, aged 79 y., 20 d.

DODD, MARY OWENS, dau. of Thomas and Mary. Oct. 5, 1823, aged 15 y., 10 m.

DODD, MRS. SUSANNA. Nov. 20, 1823, aged 75.
" SAMUEL. Oct. 1, 1860, aged 84 y., 9 m.
" JANE, wife of Samuel. May 27, 1844, aged 65 y., 4 m., 22 d.
" SAMUEL 3d (mon.), in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
" BENJAMIN, " " " " " " "
DOLHONDE, ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. Jan. 18, 1738, aged 2 m. 10 d.
DOLIBER, THOMAS. May 11, 1760, aged 62 y., 6 m.
" BENJAMIN F. (mon.), lost at sea. 1840.
" THOMAS, " " in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
DOLLIBER, FRANCIES. Jan. 29, 1806, aged 47 y., 3 m.
" JOHN B., son of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Nov. 25, 1840, aged 18 m.
" JOHN W., son of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Nov. 11, 1841, aged 7 m.
" HANNAH E., dau. of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Dec. 6, 1842, aged 9 y., 3 m.
" MARY E., dau. of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Oct. 11, 1844, aged 14 m.
DOLLIVER, PETER. Sept. 28, 1807, aged 82.
" HANNAH, wife of Peter. July 23, 1797, aged 66.
DUPAR, MINERVA, wife of Francis. Oct. 29, 1858, aged 22 y., 9 m.
DUPUY, THOMAS, son of Thomas and Mary. Feb. 18, 1802, aged 8 y., 4 m.

EATON, MARY, wife of Israel and only dau. of Capt. Ambrose and Elizabeth James. Feb. 4, 1794, aged 49.
" MOLLY, wife of Israel. Nov. 30, 1800, aged 53.
" SARAH, dau. " " July 6, 1803, aged 22.
ELITHROP, MARY, wife of John. Aug. 3, 1717, aged 32.
ESCOURTE, MRS. ESTHER [on stone of John Conant]. Nov. 26, 1709, 50th y.

FELTON, SARAH, wife of John. Feb. 18, 1749, aged 63 y., 6 m.
" THOMAS (mon.), lost at sea. 1847.
FETTYPLACE, EDWARD. Aug. 7, 1805, aged 83.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Edward. Feb. 20, 1794, aged 73 y., 5 m.
" JOHN, son of Edward and Jane. May 15, 1808, aged 18.
" EDWARD, died in Salem. Jan. 16, 1827, aged 78.
" THOMAS, " " " Jan. 22, 1826, aged 41.
" HANNAH DEVEREUX, wife of Thomas, died in Salem. July 10, 1861, aged 76.
" THOMAS J., tomb, 1849 [on tablet of Thos. Gerry, Esq.].

FETTYPLACE, HENRY K., died in Salem. Mar. 10, 1862, aged 42.
FINCH, HANNAH, wife of George. Apr. 4, 1737, aged 40 yrs.
FLORENCE, JOHN, son of John and Mary. June 5, 1801, aged 11 m., 3 d.
" MARY, dau. of John and Mary. Nov. 1, 1801, aged 3 y., 5 m.
FOLLET, PHILIP. May 7, 1807, aged 28 y., 9 m.
" THOMAS (mon.), 1840.
FOSDICK, THOMAS. May 2, 1771, aged 38.
FOSTER, ELIZABETH, wife of Ebenezer. Oct. 8, 1767, aged 25 y., 3 m., 9 d.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Ebenezer and Elizabeth. Sept., 1754, aged 1 y., 1 m.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Ebenezer and Elizabeth. Dec. 12, 1758, aged 1 yr., 4 m.
FRANCIES, ELIZABETH, wife of Christopher, and dau. of Richard and Rebecca Dixey. Oct. 13, 1806, aged 35.
FRANCIS, BARTHOLOMEW (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
" WILLIAM (mon.), lost at sea. 1833.
FROST, ELIZA ANN, wife of William 2d. Apr. 3, 1847, aged 26.
" MARY H., dau. of Wm. 2d and Eliza Ann. Apr. 21, 1844, aged 2 y.
FURNES, DAVID. Sept. 4, 1723, aged 61.
" SARAH, wife of David. Feb. 27, 1728, aged 66.

to
nor Gail
ance Smith
died Feb. 28th
1749.

GALE, AZOR, Esq. Jan. 28, 1727, aged 59.
" ROOTS. Dec. 24, 1728, aged 24 y., 4 m.
" ALICE, wife of Thomas. Oct., 24, 1736, aged 19.
" Capt. WILLIAM. June 30, 1762, aged 44.
" MARY, wid. of Samuel. May 2, 1772, aged 70.
GALLISON, JOSEPH. Sept. 30, 1718.
" JOHN. Aug. 30, 1736, aged 31 y., 11 m., 15 d.
" JOHN, Esq. March 26, 1786, aged 55.
GERRY, THOMAS, Esq. (tomb) b. Newton Abbott, Eng., March 15, 1702; d. Marblehead, July 15, 1774.
" SAMUEL, son of Thomas and Elizabeth. Aug. 26, 1738, aged 13 m., 23 d.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Thomas and Elizabeth. Sept. 3, 1740, aged 14 w., 3d.

GERRY, SAMUEL R. Feb. 22, 1807, aged 56.
" HANNAH, wife of Samuel Russell and dau. of Jona. and Abigail Glover. March 30, 1780, aged 25.
" SARAH, wife of Samuel R. July 22, 1830, aged 70.
GILBERT, JOHN. Sept. 19, 1846, aged 43.
" MARY, wife of John. May 12, 1862, aged 62.
GIRDLER, FRANCIS. June 24, 1750, aged 39.
" BENJAMIN. Nov. 25, 1835, aged 64.
" RICHARD (mon.). 1836.
" WILLIAM, " lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
GLIDDEN, ELIZABETH, wife of George, d. Unity, N. H., Dec. 24, 1859, aged 47.
GLOVER, ABIGAIL, wife of Col. Jonathan. Apr. 29, 1787, aged 60.
" BENJAMIN, son " " " and Abigail. May, 1759, aged 19 m.
" BENJAMIN, son of Col. Jonathan and Abigail. Sept. 10, 1762, aged 6 wks.
" JONATHAN, son of Col. Jonathan and Abigail. Sept. 20, 1771, aged 5 m.
" Brig. Gen. JOHN, b. Nov. 5, 1732; d. Jan. 30, 1797, aged 64.
" HANNAH, wife Brig. Gen. John. Nov. 13, 1778, aged 45 y., 5 m.
" JONAS, son of " " " and Hannah. July 15, 1789, aged 25.
GOODWIN, THOMAS, son of William and Jane. Feb. 27, 1722-3, aged 19 d.
" JOHN, son of William and Jane. Apr. 15, 1723, 5th year.
" HANNAH, wife of James. Sept. 17, [1805]? aged 24 y., 4 m.
" JAMES, son of James and Hannah.
" HANNAH, dau. of James and Hannah.
" SUSANNA, wife of James, Jr., and dau. of Thomas and Mary Dodd. Oct. 29, 1823, aged 20.
" a son of James, Jr. and Susanna. Aug. 17, 1823, aged 1 mo.
" JOHN, 3d (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
" JOHN, lost at sea. Nov., 1843.
" SUSANNA, wife of John. Apr. 15, 1856, aged 63.
" JOHN, Jr. (mon.), lost at sea. 1843.
" WILLIAM (mon.). 1845.
GOUDEY, Mrs. ELIZABETH. May 7, 1796, aged 84.
GRANT, ANN, wife of Thos. and dau. of Mary Stanford. Jan. 19, 1765, aged 57.
" MARGARET, wife of Thos. Mar. 6, 1789, aged 47.
" MARGARET, dau. of Thos. and Margaret. Apr. 8, 1795, aged 22.
" CHRISTOPHER (mon.). 1847.
GRAVES, ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Eben'r. Jan. 6, 1800, aged 55.

GRAVES, REBECCA, wife of Capt. Eben'r. June 16, 1806, aged 35.
" JOHN. Jan. 18, 1839, aged 87.
" MARY, 1st wife of John. Jan. 24, 1783, aged 30.
" REBECCA, 2d wife of John. July 20, 1824, aged 72.
GREEN, JOSEPH WEST, son of Michael and Mary. Oct. 21, 1793, aged 2 y., 3 m.
" MICHAEL, son of Michael and Mary. June 10, 1796, aged 7 y., 8 m.
" THOMAS. Sept. 10, 1856, aged 50.
" ANNIS. March 4, 1861, aged 70 y., 6 m.
" WILLIAM. Sept. 26, 1856, aged 73 y., 4 m.
" MEHITABLE F., wife of William. Mar. 20, 1850, aged 69 y., 7 m.
" JOHN F. (mon.), lost at sea. 1832.
GREENLEAF, REBECCA. Dec. 3, 1737, aged 45 y., 25 d.
GROSE, MIRIAM, left 180 ch., grand and great grand ch. No date, aged 80 y.
GROSS, RICHARD. Sept. 11, 1711, aged abt. 68.
GRUSH, Capt. JOHN. Jan. 9, 1787, aged 54 y., 2 m.
" HANNAH, wife of Capt. John. May, 1760, aged 18 y., 6 m.

HALEY, SARAH, wife of John, formerly wife of Henry Trevett. Jan. 7, 1752, aged 66.
HAMMOND, EMMA, wife of Thos. Peach, and dau. of John and Eliza Hammond. Sept. 24, 1810, aged 26.
" Mrs. HANNAH. Mar. 13, 1820, aged 68.
" HANNAH, dau. of Thos. and Hannah. Oct. 3, 1804, aged 18.
" " " " " " " Aged 10.
" WILLIAM, son " " " " 3 wks.
" " " " " " " 3 y.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of Elias. Feb. 12, 1813, aged 82 y., 6 m.
" BENJAMIN. Aug. 16, 1818, aged 27.
" Capt. WILLIAM. Dec. 9, 1821, aged 49.
" ABIGAIL BURNS, wife of Capt. William. Dec. 12, 1839, aged 64.
" BENJAMIN, son of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. July 13, 1802, aged 1 y., 10 m., 11 d.
" BENJAMIN, 2d son of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. Jan. 14, 1805, aged 3 y., 3 m., 9 d.
" MARY, dau. of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. Oct. 15, 1808, aged 14 y.
" WILLIAM, grandson of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. June 13, 1834, aged 9 y.
" MARY, wife of Wm. and dau. of Capt. Thos. Wooldridge. Aug. 24, 1829, aged 32.
" DEBORAH. June 28, 1852, aged 86 y., 9 m.

HAMSON, HENRY. Sept. 8, 1828, aged 75.
" HANNAH, wife of Henry. Apr. 17, 1853, aged 93.
" SALLY, dau. of Henry and Hannah. May 7, 1855, aged 68 y., 7 m.
HARDING, Mrs. MARY. July 5, 1836, aged 60.
HARRIS, MARY, wife of Capt. John. Jan. 23, 1791, aged 58 y., 6 m.
" JAMES, son of Capt. John and Mary. May 8, 1788, 21st year.
" JANE, wife of William. Feb. 6, 1800, aged 65 y., 7 m.
" ELEANOR, wife of John. July 31, 1803, aged 18 y., 9 m., 6 d. with other names on tombstone, nearly obliterated.
" ROBERT. Dec. 24, 1815, aged 39 y., 4 m.
" HANNAH, wid. of Robert. Aug. 31, 1858, aged 74 y., 5 m.
" ELLEN G., dau. of Robert and Hannah. June 3, 1807, aged 3 y.
" ROBERT, son of " " " May 25, 1835, aged 29.
" BENJAMIN P., son of Robert and Hannah. Nov. 20, 1837, aged 25.
" EDWARD B., b. Feb. 24, 1808; d. Apr. 12, 1872.
HASKELL, MARK. Aug. 28, 1811, aged 84.
" RUTH, wid. of Mark. Nov. 8, 1814, aged 83.
" PHILIP, son of Mark and Ruth. Aug. 23, 1783, aged 21.
" Capt. WILLIAM, son of Mark and Ruth. Jan. 1, 1798, aged 24 y., 11 m.
" GRACE BUBIER, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Mary. Sept. 2, 1791, aged 10 m.
" MARY, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Mary. July 17, 1795, aged 10 m.
" MICHAEL, son of Capt. Thomas and Mary. Mar. 22, 1819, aged 13.
" RUTH, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Mary. May 22, 1823, aged 19 y., 3 m.
" Capt. MICHAEL. Oct. 22, 1818, aged 63.
HAWKES, BENJAMIN, Sr. Apr. 16, 1772, aged 42.
" BENJAMIN, son of Capt. Benj. and Mehitable. June 12, 1791, 6 wks.
" BENJAMIN, son of Capt. Benj. and Mehitable. Oct. 4, 1794, aged 22 m.
" MARY, wife of James and dau. of Capt. Philip and Jane Bridgeo. Aug. 31, 1831, aged 25.
HAWKINS, ABIGAIL, wife of John. Apr. 20, 1751, aged 82.
" MARGARET. May 3, 1761, 60th y.
HAWLEY, RICHARD. Oct. 1, 1698, 63d y.
" WILLIAM, son of Richard and Mary. Dec. 6, 1741, aged 21.
HAYDEN, WILLIAM. July 23, 1803, aged 82.
" HANNAH, wife of William. Nov. 3, 1782, aged 56.

HILL, SALLY, wife of Robert. Sept. 28, 1862, aged 58.
HILLS, Dr. BENJAMIN. Jan. 2, 1737, aged 29.
HINE, JOHN. July 21, 1804, aged 72.
" MARY, wife of John. Oct. 18, 1785, aged 53.
" SARAH, " " " Mar. 29, 1804, aged 60.
HITCHINGS, MARTHA, wife of Amos. Nov. 30, 1785, aged 42 y., 3 m. 9d.
" Mrs. MIRIAM, dau. of John and Charity Phillips. Dec. 16, 1788, aged 31.
HITER, Capt. SAMUEL. Apr. 9, 1822, aged 58.
HOLLAND, LYDIA. Nov. 2, 1801, aged 91.
HOLMAN, SAMUEL. Sept. 14, 1737, aged 65.
HOLYOKE, ELIZABETH, wife of Rev'd Edward, born Feb. 4, 1691-2, m. Aug. 8, 1717, d. Aug. 15, 1719.
HOMAN, JOHN, Jr. Mar. 21, 1727, aged 27.
" JOSEPH. Dec. 3, 1789, aged 80
" SARAH, wife of Joseph. Apr. 20, 1783, aged 73.
" JOSEPH, son " " and Sarah. Feb. 28, 1759, aged 21.
" THOMAS. Jan. 17, 1832, aged 75.
" TABITHA, wife of Thomas. Mar. 11, 1837, aged 73.
" POLLY, dau. " " and Tabitha. Feb. 23, 1800, aged 10.
" TABITHA, " " " " " Aug. 24, 1812, aged 25.
" HANNAH, " " " " " Feb. 2, 1818, aged 38.
" SARAH. Oct. 6, 1845, aged 84.
" JOHN, son of Sarah. Aug. 31, 1859, aged 74.
" SARAH GLOVER, dau. of Wm. and Sarah. Feb. 2, 1840, aged 9 m.
" JONAS D. (mon.) 1845.
" Capt. WILLIAM. Nov. 19, 1853, aged 50.
" WILLIAM AUGUSTUS. Oct. 3, 1854, aged 25.
" MARY GLOVER, wife of John and dau. of Peter and Hannah G. Dixey. July 20, 1852, aged 31.
" EDWARD. July 20, 1857, aged 72 y., 10 m.
" MARY, wife of Edward. Feb. 20, 1861, aged 76 y., 4 m., 23 d.
" JOSEPH, son of " and Mary. Dec. 23, 1858, aged 35 y., 4 m.
" EDWARD, RUTH and ELIZABETH, ch. of Edward and Mary, d. in infancy.
" MARY, wife of Joseph. June 14, 1859, aged 30.
" MARY PITMAN, wife of John. Aug. 5, 1869, aged 80 y., 11 m.
HOOPER, RUTH, wife of Robert, Jr. July 23, 1732, aged 20.
" BENJAMIN, only child of Benj. and Susanna. May 6, 1796, aged 10 y., 8 m.
" Capt. ASA. Nov. 20, 1836, aged 69 y., 4 m.

HOOPER, DELIVERANCE, wife of Capt. Asa. Sept. 12, 1839, aged 69 y., 6 m.
" WILLIAM. Apr. 29, 1839, aged 82.
" GRACE, wife of William. Jan. 28, 1830, aged 72.
" WILLIAM L. (mon.), at sea in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
HUBBARD, Rev. EBENEZER. Oct. 15, 1800, aged 42.
" MARY, dau. of Ebenezer. Mar. 2, 1797, aged 2.
" HANNAH, dau. of Ebenezer. Jan. 15, 1801, aged 12.
" BENJAMIN, son of " May 5, 1802, aged 5.
HUBERT, PHILIP. Nov. 19, 1714, aged 14 y., 3 m., 11 d.
HULIN, ELIAS. Aug. 2, 1809, aged 75.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Elias. June 24, 1815, aged 70.
" SARAH, wife of Archibald S. July 27, 1805, aged 32.
HUMPHREY, WILLIAM. Apr. 10, 1811, aged 27.
" SARAH, wid. of Richard. Dec. 13, 1822, aged 81.
" RUTH, dau. of " and Sarah. May 20, 1824, aged 55 y., 11 m.
" JOHN. Feb. 6, 1848, aged 63 y., 8 m.
" ELIZABETH, wife of John and dau. of Capt. John and Sarah Dolliber. Aug. 24, 1827, aged 25 y., 8 m.
" CAROLINE ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. Sept. 16, 1826, aged 3 m.
" EDWARD BEECHER, son of John and Hannah D. Oct. 23, 1843, aged 13 m., 16 d.
HYAM, CAROLINE AUGUSTA, } Sept. 6, 1849, aged 11 m.
" HARRIET SUSAN. } Oct. 11, 1852, aged 4 y.
twin ch. of Robert and Mary, also 3 ch., d. in infancy.
" BETSEY. Nov. 7, 1852, aged 81.

INGALLS, ELEAZER. Feb. 27, 1717-18, aged 56.
" MARY GIRDLER, dau. of Eleazer. Dec., 1711, aged abt. 23.
" ELIZABETH. May, 1812, aged 50.
" JOHN, son of Elizabeth. June 26, 1827, aged 38 y., 4 m.
" ——— a dau. of John. July 2, 1812, aged 2 wks.
" RUTHY FREEMAN, dau. of Wm. and Margaret. July 26, 1797, aged 3 w., 1 d.
" THOMAS. July 2, 1816, aged 55.
IRESON, HANNAH, wife of Robert. Sept. 28, 1804, aged 33.
" ROBERT, son of Robert and Hannah. Jan. 6, 1796, aged 3 y., 7 m.
" WILLIAM, son of Robert and Hannah. Dec. 13, 1796, aged 1 y., 3 m., also 2 infants of Robert and Hannah.
" BENJAMIN F., son of Benj. S. and Tamison. Jan. 10, 1852, aged 1 y., 11 m.

JACKSON, MARY, wife of Dr. George. Feb. 25, 17[]1, aged 75.
JAMES, Mr. ERASMUS. (footstone).
" SARAH (" ")
" DELIVERANCE, dau. of Benj. and Deliverance. Dec. 2, 1699, aged 1 y., 4 m.
" Capt. AMBROSE. Nov. 1, 1747, aged 37 y., 4 m. 11 d.
" TABITHA, wife of Ambrose. May 2, 1787, aged 48.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of Capt. T. P. Mar. 1, 1842, aged 58.
JAYNE, SUSANNA, wife of Peter. Aug. 8, 1776, aged 44.
JILLINGS, TABITHA, wid. of Thomas and formerly wife of Jona. Glover. Mar. 7, 1785, aged 76.
JONES, WILLIAM. Oct. 17, 1730, 36th y.

KIMBALL, MARY, wife of Capt. Edmund. May 15, 1826, aged 33.
KING, PETER. July 30, 1726, aged 70.
" LYDIA, dau. of Capt. Thos. and Betsy. Aug. 18, 1770, aged 2 y., 4 m.
KNAPP, AARON B. (mon.), lost at sea. 1842.
KNIGHT, WILLIAM. Aug. 27, 1799, aged 77 y., 6 m.
" MARY, wife of William. May 17, 1784, aged 57.
" ROBERT. Apr. 3, 1807, aged 62.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of Robert. May 18, 1825, aged 80.
" WILLIAM, son " " and Elizabeth. Sept. 18, 1820, aged 49.
" RUTH, wid. of William. Dec. 25, 1815, aged 73.
" RUTH, dau. " " and Ruth. June 1, 1806, aged 13 y, 6 m., 27 d.
" GEORGE, Jr., lost at sea. May 12, 1821, aged 33 y., 7 m.
" MARY, wife of George, Jr. Mar. 10, 1836, aged 45 y., 5 m.
" SAMUEL. Mar. 28, 1835, 69 y., 7 m.
" AMMEY, wife of Samuel. May 12, 1809, 43d y.
" MARY, dau. " " and Ammey. Aug. 28, 1795, aged 18 m. 6 d.
" AMMEY B., dau. of Samuel and Ammey. June 6, 1805, aged 17.
" MARY, " " " " " Nov. 18, 1824, aged 20.
" SAMUEL, son " " " " Aug. 27, 1823, 33d y.
" RUTH, wife of Samuel. Oct. 8, 1829, aged 51.
" FRANKLIN. Oct. 21, 1839, aged 33.
" BENJAMIN. Dec. 27, 1843, aged 76.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Dec. 27, 1841, aged 69.

LASKEY, JAMES. Mar. 31, 1806, aged 73.
" WILLIAM (mon.), lost at sea. 1842.

LATIMORE, CHRISTOPHER. Oct. 5, 1690, abt. 70.
LATIMER, MARY, wife of Christopher (the most ancient stone in the ground). May 8, 1681, aged 49.
LECRAW, HANNAH, wife of David P. and dau. of Capt. Asa and Deliverance Hooper. Nov. 24, 1830, aged 27 y., 10 m.
LEE, Capt. SEWARD, born Manchester, May 21, 1725, d. Jan. 12, 1755, aged 30 y., 7 m., 22 d. leaving a wife and five ch.
LEE, JOSIAH, son of Seward and Ruth, and husband of Sarah Lee. Jan. 24, 1779, aged 30.
LEFAVOUR, LYDIA, wife of John. Apr. 2, 1793, aged 37 y., 10 m.; also their ch. Lydia, John, Thomas and Mary, d. in infancy.
LEFAVOUR, WILLIAM E., son of Wm. C. and Sally J. Apr. 5, 1850, aged 7 m., 23 d.
LEGG, JOHN, Esq. Oct. 8, 1718, aged 73.
LEGROW, ALICE. Sept. 6, 1827, aged 82.
LEWIS, SUSANNA, wife of Thomas, merchant. June 17, 1766, aged 22:
LINDSEY, Capt. NATHANIEL. Aug. 20, 1798, aged 52 y., 5 m., 25 d.
" SALLY, dau. of Capt. Nathl. and Sarah. Nov. 14, 1818, aged 21.
" Miss SARAH. June 14, 1821, aged 49 y., 4 m.
" Capt. JOSEPH. May 18, 1826, aged 57.
LORD, BENJAMIN. Mar. 11, 1803, aged 58.
" WILLIAM, d. at Martinico. Oct., 1803, aged 18.

MALCOLM, MARY, wife of Alex'r, and only dau. of John and Hannah Reed. Apr. 4, 1762, aged 32 y., 4 m.
MARTIN, ELEANOR, wife of Thomas. July 4, 1759, aged 76.
" JOHN GRISTE, son of John G. and Mary. Feb. 6, 1801, aged 6 m.
" REBECCA HOMAN, wife of Elbridge G. and dau. of Peter and Hannah G. Dixey. July 15, 1852, aged 36.
MEIZARD, Capt. NICHOLAS. June 6, 1799, aged 46.
" also, NICHOLAS and MARY, d. insane.
MELZEARD, JOHN FRANCIS, son of John and Sally. Feb. 16, 1855, aged 3 y., 8 m., 20 d.
MERITT, SAMUEL. Feb. 25, 1712-13, aged 24.
MERRITT, MARY, wife of Capt. Thomas. Aug. 7, 1824, aged 27.
" HANNAH R., dau. " " and Mary. Nov. 25, 1824, aged 14 m.
MESSERVY, ELIZABETH HAILS, adopted dau. of Capt. Philip H. and Lydia. May 15, 1842, aged 13 y., 7 m.
MICKLEFIELD, WM. PAXMAN WASHINGTON, son of William and Hannah, b. Feb. 22, 1811; d. Oct. 6, 1813.
MILLET, PHILIP B. (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
" JOHN (mon.), lost at sea. 1832.

MILLIR, Mrs. PATIENCE. Oct. 29, 1824, aged 70.
MORSE, JOSEPH. Feb. 8, 1803, aged 23 y., 5 m.
" REBECCA, wife of Abraham. Jan. 14, 1837, aged 72.
MUGFORD, Capt. JAMES. Jan. 12, 1778, aged 57.
" LYDIA, wid. of Capt. James. Aug. 20, 1809, aged 78.
" MARY, dau. of " " and Lydia. Sept. 12, 1760, aged 1 y., 3 wks.
MULLET [ ] CUNNINGHAM, dau. of Thomas and Mary, b. Jan. 10, 1748; d. Aug. 2, 1770.

NANCE, GRACE, wife of Joseph. July 26, 1791, aged 28.
NECK, WILLIAM. Mar. 14, 1722-3, 42d y.
NEWMARCH, SUSANNA, wife of Joseph. Feb. 4, 1717, 34th y.
NICHOLSON, SAMUEL. July 12, 1724, aged 53.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Sept. 19, 1728, aged 20 y., 11 m., 16 d.
" SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Lydia. Apr. 17, 1758, aged 19.
" MARY, dau. of William and Hannah. Nov. 4, 1784, aged 16.
" MARY, wife of John. Nov. 11, 1784, aged 73 y., 9 m.
" RUTH, wid. of Capt. Thomas. Apr. 24, 1789, aged 44.
NOWLAND, HANNAH, wife of Andrew. Jan. 6, 1793, aged 21.
" HANNAH, dau. of Andrew and Hannah. Sept. 13, 1793, aged 1.
" BENJAMIN (mon.), lost at sea. 1838.
NURSE, MARGARET, dau. of Benj. and Margaret. Aug. 24, 1778, aged 14 m., 7 d.
NUTTING, JOHN. Dec. 4, 1811, aged 63.
" JOHN (also on mon.). June 21, 1844, aged 55.
" MARY KNIGHT, dau. of Wm. and Mary. Sept. 21, 1848, aged 22.

OAKES, SAMUEL, son of George and Abigail. May 25, 1795, 27th yr.
OLIVER, JAMES (mon.). 1844.
ORNE, JOHN, son of Joshua and Elizabeth. Dec. 11, 1722, aged abt. 14 m.
" BENJAMIN, son of Joshua and Elizabeth. Aug. 23, 1724, aged 17 d.
" JOSHUA. Nov. 22, 1772, aged 64.
" SARAH, wife of Joshua, Jr. Oct. 17, 1743, aged 37.
" ANNIS, wife of Joshua, Esq. July 14, 1771, aged 61.
" [ ] son of Joshua and Annis. [ ] 7, 1785, aged 37.
This stone partially stops the entrance of a tomb, and part of the inscription is hidden by another stone. The Salem Gazette mentions the decease of Joshua Orne of Marblehead, who d. June 27, 1785, and notice of administration on his estate by his widow Mary.

ORNE, MARY, wife of Joshua. June 30, 1778, aged 66.
" JOSHUA, Esq. July 16, 1758, aged 87.
" [ ] wife of Joshua, Esq. Oct. 16, 1753, aged 66.
" SUSANNA, wife of Joshua. May 6, 1777, aged 28 yrs., 4 m.
" JOSHUA, 4th son of Joshua and Susanna, b. Dec. 1, 1771; d. June 2, 1772.
" JONATHAN. Mar. 26, 1803, aged 58 yrs., 3 d.
" JONATHAN, son of Jona and Priscilla. Feb. 9, 1804, aged 34 yrs., 5 m., 9 d.
" Miss ABIGAIL. Jan. 12, 1810, aged 60.

PARKER, Capt. DAVID. July 20, 1736, 50th yr.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel and former wife of John Carder. Mar. 26, 1757, aged 52.
PATTIN, Capt. JOHN. July 29, 1798, aged 45 yrs., 5 m.
" Mrs. ELIZABETH. Feb. 12, 1827, aged 73.
PEACH, WILLIAM. June 16, 1715, aged 63 yrs., 2 m. 8 d.
" WILLIAM. May 10, 1735, aged 51 yrs., 7 m.
" SARAH, wife of William. Oct. 13, 1752, aged 65 yrs., 7 m., 13 d.
" THOMAS. Sept. 9, 1731, aged 50.
" DEBORAH, wife of William. Sept. 17, 1802, aged 29.
PEACHEY, MOSES (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
PEARCE, JOHN. Apr. 24, 1800, aged 24 yrs., 8 m.
PEDRICK, MARY, wife of Thomas and only dau. of Thomas and Sarah Peach. Oct. 17, 1762, aged 23.
" EMME, wife of Capt. Thomas and dau. of John and Mary Nicholson. Aug. 8, 1790, aged 49.
" MARY PATTIN, wid. of Capt. Thomas. Feb. 7, 1850, aged 72.
" MARY, wife of Richard and dau. of Capt. John and Mary Bartol. Apr. 4, 1768, aged 21 yrs., 10 m.
" JOSEPH. Jan. 1, 1770, aged 66.
" BENJAMIN (mon.). 1844.
PERREY, HANNAH G., dau. of Geo. and Mary. Nov. 24, 1799, aged 2.
" ELIZABETH " " " aged 7 m.
PHILLIPS, Mrs. CHARITY. May 14, 1777, 49th yr.
" CORNELIUS, son of John and Charity. Apr. 15, 1767, aged 4 m.
" JOHN, son of John and Charity. Mar. 4, 1776, aged 6 yrs., 8 m.
" HANNAH, dau. of John and Charity. Mar. 24, 1789, 28th yr.
" DELIVERANCE, wife of Ichabod. Feb. 13, 1828, aged 32 yrs., 3 m.
" NATHANIEL, son of Ichabod and Deliverance. Nov. 4, 1821, aged 4.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Ichabod and Deliverance. Nov. 12, 1821, aged 19 m.
" JOSEPH (mon.). 1844.

PICKETT, MOSES ALLEN. Mar. 31, 1853, aged 78.
" AGNES, wid. of M. A. Jan. 23, 1833, aged 81.
PITMAN, BENJAMIN, son of Benj. and Sarah, lost at sea. Sept. 1, 1815, aged 22 yrs., 11 m.
" BENJAMIN, son of Benj. and Sarah, drowned. Apr. 5, 1827, aged 29 yrs., 9 m.
PORTER, JANE, wife of Ebenezer. Nov. 4, 1804, 26th yr.
POTTER, MARY, dau. of Capt. Benj. and Ruth of Lynn. Dec. 8, 1737, aged 13.
POWER, JOHN, son of John and Mary. Aug. 29, 1799, aged 24 d.
" MARY, dau. of " " " Aug. 29, 1800, aged 1.
" JOHN, son of " " " July 18, 1801, aged 7 m., 8 d.
" THOMAS (mon), lost at sea. 1840.
PREBLE, NEHEMIAH. May 22, 1856, aged 81 yrs., 8 m. 7 d.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Nehemiah and dau. of Wm. and Mary Stacey. Dec. 17, 1848, aged 74 yrs., 2 m.
PRENTISS, JOSHUA, Esq. June 22, 1837, aged 92 yrs., 8 m.
" GRACE, wife of Joshua, Esq. Oct. 10, 1789, aged 45.
" RUTH, dau. of Joshua, Esq. and Grace. Sept. 30, 1780, aged 3 m., 14 d.
" CHRISTOPHER, son of Joshua, Esq. and Grace. July 24, 1783, aged 11 m., 12 d.
PRICHARD, ASA G. Aug. 29, 1851, aged 63.
PROCTER, REBECCA, wife of John, Jr. Feb. 9, 1838, aged 24.

QUILL, ROBERT. Jan. 3, 1828, aged 84.
" ELIZABETH. Oct. 15, 1823, aged 77.
" ROBERT, Jr. Sept. 13, 1790, aged 16.
" JOHN B , lost at sea. Sept., 1809, aged 25.
" ANNIS. Aug. 23, 1843, aged 57.
" DAVID. Jan. 2, 1868, aged 80 yrs., 6 m.
" SALLY, wife of David. Jan. 21, 1829, aged 42 yrs., 6 m.
QUINER, LYDIA, dau. of Nathaniel and Mary, nearly illegible. June 29, 17[2?]8, 2 [ ] yr. of her age.
" PETER. Aug. 28, 1815, aged 63.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Peter. Feb. 3, 1827, aged 85.
" BENJAMIN, son of " and Elizabeth. Aged 18.
" " " " " " " 18 m.
" MARY, dau. of Peter & Eliz. May 19, 1796, aged 17 y., 4 m., 14d.

RAMSDELL, WINSLOW (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
" BENJAMIN (mon.), lost at sea. 1832.
RIDDEN, THADDEUS. Jan. 6, 1690–1, aged [ ].

REDDAN, JOSEPH. May 4, 1708, aged abt. 10 m.
REDDEN, JOHN. Dec. 12, 1831, aged 63.
REDDIN, MARY, wife of John. May 9, 1833, aged 77.
REED, SAMUEL. Dec. 4, 1718, aged 57 yrs. 2 m. 3 d.
" MARY, dau. of Samuel and Mary. Jan. 14, 1712, 18th yr.
" WILLIAM (mon.). 1837.
REITH, RICHARD, Sr. Feb. 28, 1707, aged 73.
REXFORD, SALLY, wife of Jordan. Aug. 16, 1804, aged 41.
REYNOLDS, JOHN. Nov. 28, 1790, aged 68.
" JUDAH, wife of John. Mar. 19, 1785, aged 62.
" WILLIAM H. Jan. 14, 1808, 59 yrs., 5 m.
RICHARDSON, FRANCIS. Dec. 2, 1727, aged 57.
" BENJAMIN A. (mon.), lost at sea. 1834.
ROBINSON, BENJAMIN. July 25, 1815, aged 43.
ROFF, REBECCA, wife of Samuel. Feb. 11, 1809, aged 47.
ROUNDY, SARAH, wife of Thomas. May 26, 1740, aged 26 yrs., 3 m. 4 d.
" Capt. SAMUEL. Mar. 18, 1806, aged 36 yrs. 5 m.
" GEORGE, son of Capt. Sam'l and Deborah. Oct. 31, 1801, aged 15 m. 27 d.
" GEORGE, son of Capt. Sam'l and Deborah. Dec. 8, 1804, aged 2 yrs.
" MARTHA, wife of Elijah W. Oct. 5, 1806, aged 23.
" JOSEPH. June 8, 1813, aged 43.
" MARY, wife of Joseph and wid. of late Nicholas Quiner. Sept. 29, 1845, aged 77.
" MARY E., dau of Sam'l R. and Mary G. Aug. 9, 1833, aged 7 m.
" HARRIET B., dau. of Sam'l R. and Mary G. Aug. 24, 1840, aged 13 m.
" HANNAH M., dau. of Sam'l R. and Mary G. Oct. 2, 1849, aged 12 yrs. 8 m.
RUSSELL, ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Sept. 19, 1721, aged 69.
" SAMUEL. May 28, 1725, aged 38.
" GILES. July 23, 1753, aged 77.
" Madam ELIZABETH. Feb. 4, 1771, aged 80.
" Capt. THOMAS. Jan. 22, 1817, aged 36.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of Samuel. June 7, 1818, aged 60.
" BENJAMIN, Nov. 11, 1832, aged 52 y., 2 m.
" ELIZABETH M., wid. of Benjamin. May 15, 1855, aged 75.
" GEORGE T., nephew of Benjamin and Elizabeth M., died at Havana, May 31, 1833, aged 24.
" ALICE G., dau. of Wilson and Alice. Oct. 24, 1835, aged 5 m., 7 d.
" BENJAMIN (mon.), lost at sea. Nov., 1840, aged 28.
" WILLIAM R. " " " Nov., 1840, aged 19.

RUSSELL, JOHN. Mar. 26, 1869, aged 68 y., 7 m.
" DEBORAH A., wife of John. Aug. 15, 1865, aged 65 y., 4 m., 15 d.
" MARY A., dau. of John and Deborah A. Mar. 28, 1824, aged 2 m.
" DEBORAH A., dau. of John and Deborah A. Nov. 29, 1833, aged 7 y.
" JOHN, son of John and Deborah A. Dec. 11, 1833, aged 2 y.
" FRANCIS, " " " " " Sept. 11, 1844, aged 2 y.
" SARAH M., wife of Ezekiel. Oct. 1, 1841, aged 33 y.

SALKINS, THOMAS F. Sept. 3, 1808, aged 56.
" MARY, dau. of Thos. F. and Mary. Feb. 21, 1779, aged 2 w.
" GEORGE, son " " " " " June 20, 1787, aged 6 m., 2 w.
" —— infant of Thos. F. and Mary, still born. June 20, 1789.
" NATHANIEL, son of Thos. F. and Mary. Apr. 28, 1791, aged 6 m.
" MARY P., dau. of Thos. F. and Mary. Aug. 19, 1812, aged 18.
" THOMAS, son " " " " " Jan. 3, 1816, aged 34 y., 10 m.

SALTER, Capt. JOHN, of Portland. Aug. 28, 1849, aged 78.
" SALLY, wife of Capt. John. Feb. 14, 1799, aged 25 y., 9 m.
" REBECCA (on stone of Robert Quill and others). Feb., 1838, aged 68.
" JANE, wife of Benjamin. Mar. 21, 1847, aged 65 y., 10 m.
" BENJAMIN O., son of Benj. and Jane. Nov. 26, 1856, aged 51 y., 4 m.

SANDE, ELIZABETH, dau. of William and Jehanah. Nov. 12, 1711, aged 8 m., 15 d.

SEAL, WILLIAM, son of Thomas and Elizabeth. Mar. 26, 1797, 31st y.

SEAWARD, JOANNA, wife of John. May 17, 1737, aged 74.

SEGERS, MARY GRANT, adopted dau. of Amos and Lois Grant. June 1, 1806, aged 13 y, 6 m., 27 d.

SELMAN, JOSEPH. Nov. 18, 1761, aged 40.
" PATIENCE, wife of Joseph. July 22, 1768, 72d yr.
" ARCHIBALD. Mar. 17, 1778, aged 63 y., 6 m., 17 d.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Archibald. July 11, 1759, aged 38 y.
" MARY, wid. of Archibald. Nov. 28, 1801, aged 78 y., 1 m., 12 d.
" BENJAMIN, son of Archibald and Hannah. May 17, 1802, aged 2 y., 1 m., 28 d.
" EUNICE, wife of Samuel. Feb. 13, 1792, aged 57 y., 4 m.
" Capt. JOHN. May 30, 1817, aged 78.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Deborah. Sept. 1, 1768, aged 2.

SELMAN. DEBORAH, dau. of John and Deborah. Sept. 13, 1768, aged 3 wks.
" JOHN B. Oct. 29, 1814, aged 37.
" Capt. FRANCIS. Aug. 3, 1849, aged 68.
" ESTHER, wife of Capt Francis. Apr. 2, 1866, aged 79.
SINCLAIR, ARCHIBALD. Sept. 2, 1879, aged 90 y., 1 m., 11 d.
" REBECCA, wife of Archibald. Aug. 5, 1853, aged 67 y., 9 m., 23 d.
SKINNER, RICHARD. Mar. 9, 1726–7, aged 61.
SMITH, JOEL. June 11, 1781, aged 48.
" SARAH, wife of Joel. Apr. 23, 1769, aged 32 y., 5 m.
" RUTH, dau. of Joel and Sarah. Sept. 14, 1769, aged 5 m., 21 d.
" JEREMIAH, at Port au Prince. Sept., 1818, aged 38.
" NANCY, wife of Jeremiah. Oct., 1809 aged 36.
" JOHN, son of Jeremiah and Nancy, lost at sea. Sept., 1825, aged 20.
" HANNAH W., wife of Jeremiah F. Aug. 13, 1831, aged 15 y., 12 d.
" JANE, wife of Jeremiah F. Nov. 26, 1854, aged 48 y., 1 m.
" ——— infant son of Jeremiah F. and Hannah W. Aug. 13, 1831.
" ——— a son of Jeremiah F. and Hannah W. Mar. 22, 1842, aged 2 y., 12 d.
SNOW, SAMUEL (mon.), at sea. 1831.
STACEY, JOHN. Mar. 23, 1704–5, aged 56.
" Mrs. AGNES. June 19, 1715, aged 60.
" Capt. JOHN. Oct. 19, 1722, aged 48.
" TABITHA, wife of William. Feb. 22, 1721–2, aged 39.
" Capt. BENJAMIN. Oct. 7, 1776, aged 52.
" WILLIAM. May 8, 1794, aged 54.
" MARY, wid. of William. Dec. 26, 1826, aged 81 y., 8 m.
" OSMAN C. (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
STANDLEY, MARGARET, wife of Sans. Sept. 13, 1804, aged 73 y., 8 m., 14 d.
" THOMAS. Sept. 22, 1809, aged 37 y., 10 m.
" SALLY, wife of Thomas. Nov. 22, 1814, aged 41 y., 2 m.
STANLEY, SANS, son of Sans and Mary. Oct. 9, 1727, aged 8 m.
STEVENS, ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Richard. Mar. 9, 1766, aged 38 y., 9 m.
" RICHARD, son of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. July 18, 1756, aged 4 m., 18 d.
" ——, a child of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth, b. and d. June 10, 1757.

STEVENS, RICHARD, son of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. July 18, 1758, aged 1 y., 11 m.
" MARGARET, dau. of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. Oct. 21, 1759, aged 1 m.
" HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. May 12, 1764, aged 4 y., 4 m., 12 d.
" LYDIA, wife of Richard and dau. of Capt. James and Lydia Mugford. Oct. 23, 1784, aged 21 y., 2 m.
" also a son, aged 15 m.
" FRANCIS (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
STEVENSON, Capt. DAVID. Aug. 7, 1806, aged 53.
" SARAH, wife of Capt. David. Apr. 23, 1838, aged 79.
" MARY, dau. of Capt. David and Sarah. Sept. 13, 1797, aged 8.
" NANCY, " " " " " " Dec. 17, 1806, aged 22.
" Capt. JOHN, son " " " " at sea. Aug. 31, 1819, aged 32.
STONE, ABRAHAM F. May 28, 1814, aged 28 y., 1 m., 19 d.
" ABRAHAM, son of Abraham F. Oct. 6, 1814, aged 14 m., 9 d.
STORY, Rev. ISAAC. Oct. 23, 1816, aged 67.
" REBECCA, wife of Rev. Isaac. Apr. 24, 1823, aged 74.
" ISAAC, son of Rev. Isaac and Rebecca. July 19, 1803, aged 29.
" JOANNA [dau. of Rev. Isaac and Rebecca]. Apr. 7, 1872, aged 79.
" WILLIAM. June 20, 1853, aged 77.
STRIKER, HANNAH, wife of Joseph. Feb. 26, 1758, aged 25 y., 4 m., 19 d.
" HANNAH, dau. of Joseph and Hannah. Dec. 10, 1757, aged 4 m., 14 d.
" Mrs. MIRIAM. Sept. 4, 1784, aged 82.
SWAN, ROBERT. Sept. 16, 1747, aged 48 y., 5 m.
" ROBERT, son of Robert and Elizabeth. Mar. 16, 1748, aged 6 y., 6 m.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Robert and Elizabeth. May 18, 1848, aged 4.
" THOMAS. Aged 45.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Thomas. Nov. 20, 1791, aged 70.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. John P. and Elizabeth. July 5, 1806, aged 19. Also an infant.
SWETT, tomb.
SYMONDS, ELIZABETH J. CRUFF, wife of George R. Mar. 3, 1870, aged 61 y., 5 m.

TAWLEY, JOHN, son of John and Isabella. Sept. 22, 1736, aged 8 y., 8 m., 22 d.

TAWLEY, THOMAS, son of John and Isabella. Sept. 14, 1737, aged 12 y., 9 m.
TEDDER, ELIZABETH, wife of Valentine and dau. of Samuel and Sarah Dodd. Oct. 4, 1769, aged 33.
" JANE, wife of Valentine. June 14, 1781, aged 45 y., 3 m.
TEWKSBURY, JAMES, at sea. Sept. 15, 1812, aged 55.
" NANCY, wife of James. Jan. 27, 1835, aged 70.
THOMPSON, JOHN, son of John and Margaret. Dec. 6, 1796, aged 21 y., 1 m.
" WILLIAM. Dec. 6, 1841, aged 84.
" ANNA, wife of William. Apr. 7, 1836, aged 77.
TRAILL, Capt. JOHN. Sept 25, 1808, aged 53 y., 6 m.
" MARY, wid. of Capt. John. Dec. 22, 1830, aged 72.
TREFRY, THOMAS (mon.), at sea. 1845.
" JOHN (mon.), in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
" EDWARD F. (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
TREVETT, REBECCA, dau. of Russell and Susanna. July 22, 1747, aged 22 m., 8 d.
TUCKER, NICHOLAS. Feb. 3, 1716–17, aged 47.
" NICHOLAS. Dec. 19, 1801, aged 56.
" NICHOLAS, Jr. (mon.), at sea. 1848.
" NELLY, wife of John and second dau. of Capt. David and Sarah Stevenson. Jan. 7, 1811, aged 30.
" GEORGE, Jr. July 21, 1823, aged 52 y., 3 m.
TWISDEN, SAMUEL. Oct. 5, 1743, aged 67.

VALENTINE, ANDREW, b. May 14, 1788; d. Nov. 14, 1822.
" HANNAH, wife of Andrew, b. Feb. 27, 1792; d. May 21, 1871.
" ANDREW, son of Andrew and Hannah, b. Oct. 28, 1817, d. at sea, 1836.
" HANNAH KNIGHT, dau. of Andrew and Hannah, b. Dec. 28, 1819; d. Nov. 7, 1822.
VICKERY, THOMAS E. (mon.), at sea. 1836.

WAIT, JACOB. Jan. 11, 1826, aged 76.
" ABIGAIL, wife of Jacob. Oct. 11, 1831, aged 75.
" ABIGAIL COFFIN, dau. of Jacob and Abigail. Sept., 1849, aged 72.
" JOHN. Oct. 19, 1803, aged 50 y., 1 m.
" SARAH, wife of John. June 20, 1802, aged 47 y., 5 m.
" MARY A., dau. of John and Sarah. Mar. 22, 1806, aged 2 y., 5 m.
WALDRON, SAMUEL. Dec. 8, 1691, aged 34.

WALDRON, DELIVERANCE, wife of John. Mar. 16, 1720, aged 52.
" THOMAS, son of John Dec. 20, 1713, aged 19 m.
" SAMUEL, " " " May 10, 1728, aged 22 d.
WARNER, ELIZABETH, dau. of James and Elizabeth. June 9, 1797, aged 4 y., 4 m.
WATERS, ELIZABETH, wife of William. Feb. 10, 1698-9, aged 35.
WENDELL, THOMAS. Jan. 10, 1772, aged 27 y., 7 m.
WHITE, SAMUEL. Sept. 7, 1722, aged 52.
WHITWELL, Rev. WILLIAM. Nov. 8, 1781, aged 44.
" PRUDENCE, wife of Rev. William. Feb. 7, 1773, aged 33.
WILLIAMS, Dea. WILLIAM. Mar. 5, 1787, aged 65.
" MARY, wid. of Dea. William. Apr. 3, 1813, aged 87.
" MARY, dau. " " " May 1, 1841, aged 77.
" Miss NANCY. Feb. 22, 1864, aged 96 y., 6 m.
WOODFIN, RACHEL, wife of Moses and dau. of Thomas and Sally Morse, Jan. 26, 1824, aged 20 y., 9 m., 10 d.
WOODS, JOHN. May 22, 1711, aged about 45.
WOOLDRIDGE, BENJAMIN, lost at sea. Sept., 1800, aged 31.
" (written Wotderige) REBECCA, wife of Benj. Mar. 27, 1800, aged 32 y., 5 m.
" WILLIAM, son of Benj. and Rebecca, at Sea. Nov. 10, 1821, aged 24.
" BENJAMIN, son of Benj. Nov. 26, 1852, aged 58 y., 6 m.
" Capt. THOMAS. Aug. 20, 1809, aged 44 y., 25 d.
" THOMAS, son of Capt. Thomas and Mary. Sept. 29, 1811, aged 24 y., 3 m.
" SAMUEL G., son of Capt. Thos. and Mary, at sea. Aug. 1825, aged 34.
WYMAN, JOHN P. Jan. 23, 1818, aged 43.

[———] LYDIA, dau. of Nath'l and Mary. Jan. 29, 1728, 2 [ ] of her age.

THE NORTHEND FAMILY.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, the first of the name and family in this country, settled in Rowley, Massachusetts, a few years after its first settlement by Rev. Ezekiel Rogers and his associates in 1639. Mr. Rogers, with about twenty of the families of his company, came from Rowley, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, England, and the place was named after their old home.

Rowley in England is a parish comprising 6,450 acres of land, subdivided into the so-called townships of Rowley, Bentley, Hunsley, Weeton Parva, Riplingham and Risby, and extending from the Borough of Beverley southwesterly about seven miles toward the river Humber. Its population in 1840 was 451. Beverley Borough is subdivided into St. Martin, St. Mary, and St. Nicholas parishes, and had a population in 1840 of 7,432.

It appears from a letter of Anthony Northend, a brother of Ezekiel, in the possession of Dr. Edward R. Cogswell of Cambridge, a lineal descendant of the first Ezekiel Northend, a copy of which is hereafter given, and from other evidence furnished by Mr. Samuel T. Lythe of Walkington, Yorkshire, and by Mr. Joseph Northend now of Meadville, Pa., formerly of Bradford in Yorkshire, to both of whom I am under great obligations for information, that some of the near relatives of Ezekiel Northend lived in Rowley and Beverley in England.

In the letter referred to, Jeremiah Northend is mentioned as a cousin and an heir to property, and Christopher Northend is referred to as a grandchild of the brother of Ezekiel. Mr. Lythe forwarded me a certificate of Rev. Henry C. Hildyard, Rector of Rowley, that, "Mr. Jeremiah Northend went out with the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers to New England in the year 1638, he being twelve years of age, he remained nine years and returned and was buried at Rowley, April 14, 1702;" also that "Anthony Northend of Little Weeton was buried at Rowley on the 12th day of April, 1698."

Mr. Lythe also copied the following inscription from a marble tablet in St. Mary's Church, Beverley, "Here lyeth the body of Christopher

Northend, Gentleman and Alderman of this Town. He departed this life Jany. 10th, A. D. 1730, in the 71st year of his age. He was ye only son of John Northend of Hunsley in the County of York, Gentleman."

In the early records relating to Rowley reference is made to Jeremiah Northend, who came over as a servant to William Bellingham, and Ezekiel Northend makes mention of him as his cousin. He was the person mentioned in the Rev. Mr. Hildyard's certificate. Anthony Northend, whose death is also certified to, was undoubtedly the writer of the letter, and Christopher Northend buried at St. Mary's Church is the grandson referred to in Anthony's letter. In the history of Beverley it appears that Christopher Northend, Attorney, was Mayor of Beverley in 1714 and 1719.

Mr. Lythe further states that the family in the past were large land owners, that they possessed all Weeton Parva and Hunsley, and owned land in Riplingham, Rowley and Cottingham, and that they were lords of the Manor of Weeton Parva and Hunsley.

Mr. John M. Bradbury, in the October number, 1873, of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," page 189, states that John Northend and Edward Northend were witnesses to the will of William Wiglesworth of Shipden, parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, which will is dated October 16, 1590. These are the only references I have to the family name in England, and I give them in the hope that they may be of use to any person who may wish hereafter to ascertain more of the family history there. The letter of Anthony Northend before referred to is directed,

"ffor his louinge kind Brother Ezekiell Northend att Rowley in New England," and is as follows:

Louinge Brother:— After my loue remembed vnto you; I was at Bentley that day yoe letter came to my sister Stoute hande which was very welcome news to us both to hear that you & your wife my Sisters & their husbands were alive with all your Children, which are a great family (Blessed be God for it). It is our happiness that we cannot be severed from the Lorde wherever we be, if our sinnes make not a separation. God is the God of one land and of another, & can be an all-sufficient portion to his people in all places. Good Brother let us labour to be found in Christ & to be clothed with his righteousnesse that soe we may appear before him in glory (that if God's providence soe order it) that we neuer meet in this world we may meet before him when we shall neuer be seperated more; my Brother John & his eldest sonne John are dead about thirteene years agoe, my sister Jane Northend with her two sonnes Nathaniel & Richard & her daughter ffrances with her gran'child Christopher Northend my nephew John's

sonne desire to be remembered to you these * are my Brother Johns whole family and are all unmarried. my brothe William Stoute & my sister Joana Stoute have three children one sonne William and two daughters Elizabeth & Mary, my vnckle Northend and his sonnes are all dead. only my cousen Jeremiah maried & not living, my cousen Jeremiah hath now gotten my unckle Northends whole estate in lands & is sole heir thereunto, he had a very good wife & a sonne John by name which are both dead & he is newly married againe, he told me he would write two or three lines to you I must breake of, we are in health att present, my sister Jane Northend & hers, my Brother & sister Stoute & theirs, my cousen Jeremiah Northend & his two sisters, my cousen Nickolas Johnson & his sister Jane Thorpe desire remembered to you, remember vs to all our frends with you I must leave you. the Lord keepe you. farewell. yor truly louing Brother

Beuerley y ay } ANTHONY NORTHEND
1678 }

my sister Joana & I desire you to let vs hear from you when opportunity will permitt I am very lame with wounds that I haue formerly gotten in the warre that I can scarcely write, but I must wait till my healing come which will not be in this life. | the lord fit vs for our departure hence. Vale.

my sister Northend & her children live all at Hunsley.

Anthony Northend was probably a soldier in Cromwell's army.

Among the first settlers of Stamford, Conn., I find the name of John Northend, but it does not appear that he left any descendants.

SALEM, January, 1874. W. D. NORTHEND.

FIRST GENERATION.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, of Rowley, born probably in Hunsley or Weeton Parva, in Rowley, Yorkshire, in England, 1622; married Edna, widow of Richard Bailey, whose maiden name was Halstead, at Rowley, December 1, 1648. She was born probably in Halifax Parish, West Riding, of Yorkshire He died at Rowley, September 7, 1698; she d. February 8, 1706. In 1677 he owned four freeholds, and in 1691 paid the highest tax in Rowley, £10, at which time he is styled

* Space like this torn out.

corporal. He was a prominent man in the town, on many committees, and was Selectman in 1662, 1669, and 1691, and probably other years, of which the record is lost. He gave to each of his daughters from one hundred to one hundred and fifty acres of land upon their marriage. His will is dated February 8th, 1698, in which he appoints his wife Edna executrix, and disposes of his property as follows:—

"Item: To my Well Beloved Wife I ffreely Bestow vpon her for her Comfort During her naturall Life the Improvment of my whole estate both Reall and Personall onely what I before promised to my son Ezekiel upon his marriage.

Item to my onely son Ezekiell I ffreely Confirme to him one halfe of my housing & Lands and meddows which I promised to him vpon his marriage, also a parcell of Land liing & being Situate within the Bounds of Rowley Towne near Dunkin Stewards house, that whole parcell of Land bee it more or Less (on both sides the Hye way to Bradford) the sd Land will more fully appeare by the Towne Records: the above sd Lands to my son Ezekiell to bee in his actuall possesion at the present. The Remainder of my Housing & Lands & priveledges that I have before appointed my Wife to have the Improvment of During her Naturall Life together with whatsoever personall estate I have left in the hands of Edna my wife for her Comfortable supply whiles shee lives, I ffreely Will & Give vnto my son Ezekiel after my Wifes Decease to bee immediately in his possesion & Dispose for ever onely paying to his Three Sisters Edna Sticknee Elisabeth Gage & Sarah Hale to them or their Heires each Sixty pounds in Currant pay or fforty pounds to each of them in money within six years after the Decease of Edna my Wife: which of the abovesd sums whether money or pay my son Ezekiell shall see good to pay

It. to my Three Daughters Edna Sticknee: Elisabeth Gage & Sarah Hale I have before paid to them Two Hundred pounds to each of them this with what I have above appointed my son Ezekiel to pay is their full prportion of my estate."

Children:—

EDNA, b. July 1, 1649. See second generation.

ELISABETH, b. Sept. 17, 1651; d. in infancy.

ELISABETH, b. Oct. 19, 1656. See second generation.

JOHN, b. Jan. 18, 1658; probably d. young.

SARAH, b. Jan. 3, 1661. See second generation.

EZEKIEL, b. Nov. 8, 1666. See second generation.

SECOND GENERATION.

EDNA NORTHEND, b. July 1, 1649; m. first, Thomas Lambert, son of Francis and Jane Lambert, original settlers of Rowley, Nov. 4, 1669; he d. Sept. 13, 1685, and she m. second, Andrew Stickney, son of William and Elisabeth Stickney, original settlers of Rowley, Jan. 22, 1689; she d. Feb. 7, 1722; he d. April 29, 1727.

Children:—

MARY LAMBERT, b. Feb. 6, 1670; d. April 19, 1687.

REBECCA LAMBERT, d. in infancy, March 12, 1677.

NATHAN LAMBERT, b. Feb. 28, 1675; d. Nov. 7, 1680.

THOMAS LAMBERT, b. April 8, 1678; m. Sarah Hammond, Dec. 19, 1699; was Town Clerk of Rowley thirty-five years, Rep. Gen. Court, 1726 and 1743, and Justice of the Peace.

NATHAN LAMBERT, b. Dec. 7, 1681; d. Aug., 1693.

JANE LAMBERT, b. Sept. 10, 1685; m. Mark Prime, Feb. 10, 1702.

ANDREW STICKNEY, baptized Nov. 26, 1693; d. May 27, 1694.

AMOS STICKNEY, bap. Jan. 2, 1698. "This was ye first child that was baptised in ye new meeting house." d. Feb. 4, 1698.

ELISABETH NORTHEND, b. Oct. 19, 1656; m. first, Humphrey Hobson, son of William and Anne (Reyner) Hobson, original settlers of Rowley, July 25, 1682; he d. Aug. 8, 1684, and she m. second, Thomas Gage, son of John Gage, who first settled at Ipswich, and removed to Rowley in 1664; she d. July 14, 1737.

Children:—

HUMPHREY HOBSON, b. July 10, 1684; m. Mehitable Payson, June 26, 1712. Their son Humphrey was deacon of the First Church nineteen years, Town Clerk of Rowley eighteen years, Rep. Gen. Court nine years, and Justice of the Peace.

ELISABETH GAGE, b. March 17, 1699, m. Edward Sanders, Dec. 18, 1716.

SARAH NORTHEND, b. Jan. 3, 1661; m. Thomas Hale of Newbury (neck), May 16, 1682; she d. April 11, 1730. He was b. Feb. 11, 1658, and was son of Thomas and Mary (Hutchinson) Hale, original settlers of Newbury. He afterwards removed to Rowley. He was captain of a militia company, and Justice of the Peace.

Children:—

THOMAS, b. March 9, 1683. MARY, b. April 28, 1687.

EDNA, b. Nov. 21, 1684. EZEKIEL, b. May 13, 1689.

NATHAN, b. June 2, 1691.
SARAH, b. March 9, 1693.
EBENEZER, b. April 21, 1695.
DANIEL, b. Feb. 22, 1697.
HANNAH, b. June 7, 1699.
JOSHUA, b. March 17, 1701.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, b. Nov. 8, 1666; m. Dorothy Sewall, youngest daughter of Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall, early settlers of Newbury, Sept. 10, 1691. In Essex Registry of Deeds, B. 13, L. 290, is record of deed of about one hundred acres of land in Newbury Neck from Henry Sewall to Ezekiel Northend and Dorothy Sewall, dated July 25, 1691, commencing as follows:—

"Know all men by these presents that I, Henry Sewall, of Newbury, in ye County of Essex in New England, ffor and in consideration of ye natural affection that I beare and have to my youngest daughter, Dorothy Sewall, and more especially for and in consideration of ye intended marriage shortly to be consummated betwixt Ezekiel Northend of Rowley and my said daughter, do hereby give, grant and convey to said Ezekiel Northend and Dorothy his intended wife," etc.

She was b. Oct. 29, 1668; he d. Dec. 23, 1732; she d. June 17, 1752. He was Rep. Gen. Court 1715, 1716, 1717, Chairman of Board of Selectmen many years, and captain of a militia company. In his lifetime he conveyed a farm to each of his sons, and the remainder of his estate was divided between his children after his decease.

Children:—

JOHN, b. Oct. 10, 1692. See third generation.

EDNA, b. Jan. 10, 1694. See third generation.

EZEKIEL, b. Jan. 25, 1696. See third generation.

JANE, b. March 17, 1699; m. Eliphalet Payson, son of Rev. Edward Payson, the fourth minister of Rowley, May 13, 1722; d. Nov. 25, 1722. No children.

DOROTHY, b. March 20, 1701. See third generation.

HANNAH, b. Jan. 31, 1703; m. Nathaniel Bradstreet of Ipswich, Apr. 19, 1727.

MEHITABLE, b. March 2, 1705; m. Samuel Dutch of Ipswich, May 24, 1737.

SAMUEL, b. Jan. 12, 1707. See third generation.

ELISABETH, b. Dec. 15, 1710; m. Jacob Jewett, Dec. 21, 1732; d. Sept. 17, 1741. No children.

THIRD GENERATION.

JOHN NORTHEND, born Oct. 10, 1692; married Dec. 1, 1720, Bethiah Boynton, widow of John Boynton and dau. of Samuel Platts, an early settler of Rowley, who was Town Clerk nineteen years, and Rep. Gen. Court 1681, and 1693. She was b. March 15, 1689; he died March 24, 1768; she died June 12, 1767. He was an influential member of the First Church, was Rep. Gen. Court 1740 and 1751, captain of the first foot company of Rowley, and many years Selectman; was probably ensign in expedition against Louisburg, 1745.

Children:—

SARAH, b. Nov. 24, 1721; m. Thomas Mighill, grandson of Thomas Mighill, one of the original settlers of Rowley, Nov. 13, 1750. He was deacon of first church in Rowley thirty-eight years, Rep. Gen. Court from 1783 to 1793 inclusive, Selectman, and Captain in the service in the Revolutionary war. He was b. 1722; d. August 26, 1807; she d. June 1, 1778.

JANE, b. April 13, 1724; m. Nathaniel Gage, grandson of John Gage, May 9, 1751.

SAMUEL, b. March 11, 1727; d. June 15, 1749.

EDNA NORTHEND, b. Jan. 10, 1694; m. Francis Pickard, grandson of John Pickard, one of the first settlers of Rowley, Nov. 25, 1714. He was b. Sept. 23, 1689; he d. Sept. 12, 1778; she d. August 30, 1769. He was deacon of First Church in Rowley forty years, and selectman several years.

Children:—

FRANCIS, b. Feb. 6, 1725; d. March 11, 1816, unmarried.

EDNA, b. Dec. 26, 1728.

DOROTHY, b. Oct. 5, 1730.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, b. Jan. 25, 1696; m. Elisabeth Payson, dau. of Rev. Edward Payson, fourth minister of Rowley, March 30, 1726. She was b. Feb. 5, 1697, and d. May 9, 1787; he d. Oct. 18, 1742.

Children:—

STEPHEN, d. in infancy, May 16, 1727.

HANNAH, b. July 29, 1728; m. Thomas Mighill, Nov. 26, 1747; d. Sept. 25, 1748. No children. He afterwards married Sarah, dau. of John Northend. See *ante*.

SEWALL, d. in infancy, Sept. 13, 1730.

EDWARD, d. young, Sept. 19, 1732.

MARY, d. young, June 21, 1737.

SARAH, b. Nov. 19, 1738; m. Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell, of Rowley, March 26, 1761. *See appendix.*

DOROTHY NORTHEND, b. March 20, 1701; m. Thomas Lancaster, of Ipswich, Jan. 8, 1730. She d. June 23, 1752; he d. Dec. 30, 1792, aged about ninety. He was Rep. to Gen. Court from Rowley twelve years, and selectman.

Children:—

PAUL, b. May 22, 1735.

DOROTHY, b. Nov. 1. 1737.

LYDIA, b. June 29, 1740.

THOMAS, b. Jan. 24, 1743. H. C., 1764, minister at Scarborough, Me.

SAMUEL NORTHEND, b. Jan. 12, 1707; m., first, Mary Boynton, dau. of John and Bethiah (Platts) Boynton, Dec. 3, 1730; she d. June 1, 1751, aged forty-two, and he m. second, June 2, 1752, Susannah Scott, dau. of Samuel and Elisabeth (Bailey) Scott, and great granddaughter of Benjamin Scott, one of the early settlers of Rowley. He resided in the part of Rowley included in Byfield Parish. Mr. Cleaveland, in appendix to his centennial address at Dummer Academy, referred to him as "long a pillar of the church and the parish." He was on important committees of the town, was selectman several years, and lieutenant of a militia company.

Children:—

MOSES, b. Jan. 21, 1732; d. Aug. 15, 1736.

JOHN, b. April 13, 1734; d. Aug. 22, 1736.

DOROTHY, b. Aug. 21, 1735; m. William Dummer of Newbury, June 2, 1761; d. Nov. 23, 1808.

EZEKIEL, bap. June 8, 1739; d. young.

MARY, b. July 26, 1740; m. Deacon Joseph Hale of Newbury, Nov. 19, 1765; d. Oct. 8, 1830. Their children were MARY, who m. Rev. Elijah Parish, D. D, of Byfield, Dea. DANIEL HALE, who m. Ruth Searle, and JOSEPH HALE, who m. Eunice Chute.

MEHITABLE, b. Sept. 28, 1743; d. Nov. 28, 1751.

ELISABETH, b. Dec. 19, 1746; m. Jacob Jewett, H. U., 1769, Nov. 19, 1771; d. July 29, 1773. No children.

SUSANNAH, b. Aug. 16, 1753; m. Joshua Pickard, May 10, 1787; he d. March 10, 1814; she d. Oct. 15, 1821. Their dau., Hannah Pickard, m. John Scott, Esq., D. C., 1810, b. in Rowley, but practised law at Newburyport, Aug. 9, 1815; she d. June 18, 1861, aged seventy-two.

EZEKIEL, b. May 1, 1755; d. Sept. 15, 1757.

SAMUEL, bap. July 10, 1757. See fourth generation.

HANNAH, b. Feb. 3, 1760; m. Richard Dummer, 1785. They removed to Hallowell, Me. She d. 1830.

MEHITABLE, bap. May 27, 1764.

FOURTH GENERATION.

SAMUEL NORTHEND, bap. July 10, 1757. He m. Sarah, dau. of Henry and Sarah (Emery) Adams, June 2, 1780. She was a descendant from Robert and Eleanor Adams, first settlers of Newbury.* He d. Dec. 30, 1824; she d. April, 1839.

Children:—

ELISABETH, b. April 1, 1781; m. John Kent; d. Sept. 28, 1856; had one daughter, Caroline, b. Oct. 29, 1809, who m. Thomas Merrill.

SAMUEL, b. 1783; d. 1802.

JOHN, b. May 18, 1785. See fifth generation.

FIFTH GENERATION.

JOHN NORTHEND, of Newbury, b. May 18, 1785, m. first, Anna Titcomb, dau. of Caleb and Judith (Bricket) Titcomb. She was a descendant from William and Joanna (Bartlett) Titcomb, early settlers of Newbury. She d. February 7, 1848. aged 58; he m. second, widow Rubamah Stevens, Nov. 20, 1856. He d. March 20, 1865. He was Rep. to Gen. Court from Newbury in 1833, and selectman from 1828 to 1833 inclusive.

Children:—

MARY ANN, b. Sept. 8, 1809. See sixth generation.

SAMUEL, b. Apr. 5, 1811. See sixth generation.

JOHN, b. Nov. 8, 1812; d. Aug. 24, 1835.

CHARLES, b. April 2, 1814. See sixth generation.

GEORGE HENRY, b. Dec. 1, 1815; d. Nov. 29, 1835.

CALEB TITCOMB, b. May 28, 1817; d. Jan. 21, 1837.

SARAH ADAMS, b. Feb. 7, 1819. See sixth generation.

JUDITH MARIA, b. May 13, 1821; m. William Forbes, Jan. 12, 1870; d. June 28, 1873. No children.

WILLIAM DUMMER, b. Feb. 26, 1823. See sixth generation.

ENOCH TITCOMB, b. May 18, 1824. See sixth generation.

ANN ELISABETH, b. Feb. 24, 1830; d. Sept. 15, 1830.

SIXTH GENERATION.

MARY ANN NORTHEND, b. Sept. 8, 1809; m. Moses Tenney, of Newbury, April 6, 1831. They now live at Georgetown. He was a member of the Mass. Senate, and Treasurer of the State five years.

Children:—

* 1st, Robert and Eleanor Adams, 2d, Abraham and Mary (Pettengell) Adams, 3d, Capt. Abraham and Anne (Longfellow) Adams, 4th, Henry and Sarah (Emery) Adams.

ANN ELISABETH, b. Jan. 21, 1832. See seventh generation.
MOSES EDWARD, b. Oct. 1, 1833; d. April 24, 1837.
HANNAH MARIA, b. Nov. 20, 1835; d. Aug. 17, 1852.
SARAH NORTHEND, b. April 5, 1840. See seventh generation.
CHARLES WILLIAM, b. April 4, 1844. See seventh generation.

SAMUEL NORTHEND, of Newbury, b. April 5, 1811; m. first, Harriet A. Perley, of Winthrop, Me., Sept. 6, 1838; she d. March, 1840, aged twenty-six; he m. second, Mary Currier, of Newburyport, Nov. 26, 1841; she d. 1869.

Children:—

GEORGE HENRY, b. June 15, 1839; killed in battle before Richmond, Va., June 11, 1864.
WILLIAM EDWARD, b. Feb., 1843.
HARRIET, b. June 15, 1845.
ANN ELISABETH, b. Sept. 7, 1846; m. John Edmunds, Haverhill.
THOMAS EDWARD, b. Jan. 3, 1850; d. May 11, 1854.
SUSAN BROWN, b. Oct. 19, 1851; d. Feb. 22, 1864.
EDWARD TENNEY, b. Feb. 1, 1856.
MARY ELLEN, b. May 23, 1858.

CHARLES NORTHEND of New Britain, Conn., b. April 2, 1814, m. Lucy Ann Moody, descendant from William and Mehitable (Sewall) Moody, early settlers of Newbury, Aug. 18, 1834. He entered Amherst Coll., but did not finish the course. Received from that Coll. hon. degree of A. M., in 1848. Teacher, and author of "Teacher and Parent," and other educational works.

Children:—

JOHN, b. Oct. 28, 1835.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS, b. May 3, 1841. See seventh generation.
DAVID PAGE, b. Sept. 9, 1846; d. Sept. 18, 1855.

SARAH ADAMS NORTHEND, b. Feb. 7, 1819; m. Aaron Fuller Clark of Peabody, Oct. 22, 1844. He was b. in Francistown, N. H., April 7, 1816, and was son of Daniel and Irene (Fisher) Clark. Was selectman of Peabody several years.

Children:—

GEORGE HENRY, b. May 18, 1850. See seventh generation.
WILLIAM NORTHEND, b. July 10, 1854.

WILLIAM DUMMER NORTHEND, of Salem, b. Feb. 26, 1823; Bowd. Coll., 1843; m. Susan Stedman Harrod, dau. of Benjamin and Mary Ann (Wheelwright) Harrod, of Newburyport, Nov. 2, 1846. She was

b. March 27, 1827. He was a member of Massachusetts Senate in 1861 and 1862.

Children:—

LOUISA HUNTINGTON, b. Feb. 22, 1848. See seventh generation.
MARY HARROD, b. May 10, 1850.
SUSAN STEDMAN, b. June 18, 1852.
WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, b. May 30, 1857.

ENOCH TITCOMB NORTHEND, of Newburyport, b. May 18, 1824; m. first, Maria Jane Carey, of Newbury, Oct. 15, 1853; she d. Aug. 26, 1869; he m. second, Emily Jane Buntin, of Newburyport, dau. of Capt. John and Mary (Burke) Buntin, June 14, 1871.

Children:—

MARIA TENNEY, b. July 3, 1853; d. July 5, 1853.
ANNA TITCOMB, b. May 12, 1858; d. Dec. 3, 1871.
JENNIE CAREY, b. Oct. 29, 1860; d. Oct. 9, 1871.
GERTRUDE HOWE, b. Aug. 25, 1862.
ALICE MARIA, b. Nov. 14, 1865.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

ANNA ELISABETH TENNEY, b. Jan. 21, 1832; m. Joseph Searle Moody, of Newbury, Oct. 15, 1856; she d. Feb. 7, 1864; he d. May 30, 1864.

Children:—

MARIA TENNEY, b. Oct. 29, 1857.
MARY SEARLE, b. May 3, 1859.
ANNA COFFIN, b. Nov. 5, 1860.
CARRIE STEVENS, b. Dec. 22, 1864; d. Feb. 28, 1865.

SARAH NORTHEND TENNEY, b. April 5, 1840; m. Rev. Henry Augustus Stevens; Amh. Coll., 1857; now of North Bridgewater, Oct. 23, 1861.

Children:—

CHARLES TENNEY, b. Dec. 6, 1866.
HENRY HOUGHTON, b. July 28, 1869.
ARTHUR LAWRENCE, b. Oct. 3, 1871.

CHARLES WILLIAM TENNEY, of Georgetown, b. April 4, 1844; m. Sarah Lambert DeBacon, of Chelsea, Jan. 16, 1868.

Children:—

WILLIAM NORTHEND, b. Feb. 17, 1869.
HARRIET DEBACON, b. Sept. 25, 1870.
FRED, b. Nov. 26, 1871.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS NORTHEND, of New Britain, Conn., b. May 3, 1841; m. Martha M. Giddings, Dec. 5, 1864; she d., Oct. 22, 1873.

Child:—

HENRY HAVEN, b. Nov. 13, 1866.

GEORGE HENRY CLARK, of Peabody, b. May 18, 1850; m. Carrie Bell Larrabee.

Child:—

HARRY LINCOLN, b. Oct. 25, 1873.

LOUISA HUNTINGTON NORTHEND, b. Feb. 22, 1848; m. Charles Alfred Benjamin, of Salem, Nov. 15, 1870. He is son of Rev. Nathan and Mary Gladding (Wheeler) Benjamin, and b. Nov. 4, 1843. Rev. Nathan Benjamin grad. Williams College, 1831, was missionary to Turkey, and died at Constantinople in 1855.

Child:—

CHARLES SEYMOUR, b. Aug. 31, 1872.

APPENDIX.

FOURTH GENERATION.

SARAH NORTHEND, b. Nov. 19, 1738, m. Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell, a native of Ipswich, March 26, 1761; he d. May 25, 1822; she d. March 8, 1773.

Children:—

NORTHEND, b. Jan. 11, 1762. See fifth generation.
SARAH, b. June 5, 1763; m. Oliver Appleton, Dec. 19, 1790.
ELISABETH, b. Aug. 25, 1764; m. Joseph Knight, Apr. 14, 1787.
NATHANIEL, b. Aug. 8, 1765; d. Sept. 8, 1765.
NATHANIEL, b. Sept. 28, 1766; d. Oct. 9, 1766.
HANNAH, b. Nov. 6, 1767; m. Wm. Eustis, Nov. 2, 1809.
WADE, b. June 20, 1769; m. d. Feb. 16, 1855.
ABIGAIL, b. Oct. 19, 1770; m. Isaac Smith, Dec. 6, 1789.
DOROTHY, b. Dec. 14, 1771; d. 1773.

FIFTH GENERATION.

NORTHEND COGSWELL, b. Jan. 11, 1762; m. Elisabeth Lambert, of Rowley, Nov. 1, 1794; removed to South Berwick, Maine, where his [illegible] d. in Rowley, Feb. 12, 1827.

ERRATA.

Page 79, read, Mary, wife of Samuel Northend, d. *Jan.* 26, 1870, and Ann Elizabeth, m. John B. Edmonds, *Oct.* 9, 1869, *child, Fred N., b. Jan.* 19, 1871.

Page 81, read Enoch T. Northend, m., first, *Oct.* 29, 1851, and m., second, daughter of Capt. *Thomas* Buntin.

1845; d. July 22, 1880.

SIXTH GENERATION.

Hon. CHARLES NORTHEND COGSWELL, b. April 24, 1797; Bowd. Coll., 1814; m. first, Elizabeth W. Hill, Aug. 25, 1824; m. second, Margaret Elisabeth Russell, Nov. 20, 1839. Was a prominent member of the

bar in Maine, and member of Maine Senate; d. in South Berwick, Oct. 11, 1843.

Children:—

EDWARD RUSSELL, b. June 1, 1841. See seventh generation.

CHARLES NORTHEND, b. March 23, 1843; d. Sept. 1, 1844.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL, b. South Berwick, June 1, 1841, now of Cambridge, Mass.; H. C., 1864, M. D., 1867; m. Oct. 5, 1864, Sarah Parks Proctor.

Children:—

CHARLES NORTHEND, b. July 11, 1865.

GEORGE PROCTOR, b. Jan. 19, 1867.

MARGARET ELISABETH, b. Feb. 14, 1869.

ARTHUR LAMBERT, b. Aug. 6, 1870; d. Sept. 23, 1870.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XII. APRIL, 1874. No. 2.

THE JOURNAL[1] OF THE REV. JOHN CLEAVELAND,

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON,

NEHEMIAH CLEAVELAND.

PREFATORY NOTICE.

JOHN CLEAVELAND, the author of the following "Journal," was a native of Canterbury, Conn., being the son of Josiah, who was the son of Josiah, who was the son of Moses Cleaveland of Woburn, Mass., first of the name in America. John had nearly completed his course in Yale College, and his brother Ebenezer had just entered, when they were arraigned before the Faculty for having, while at home, attended, with their parents, a "separatist" meeting—that is, a meeting of persons who, being dissatisfied with the regular minister of the place, had set up a separate worship. As they could not see and would not confess that there was any crime in this, these young

[1] This Journal and the letters to his wife were written in the year 1758, while he was serving as chaplain of a provincial regiment in the army of General Abercrombie.

men of unquestioned virtue and piety were sent off with as little ceremony and compunction as if they had been hardened reprobates. This tyrannical act, and the expulsion from Yale College of the afterwards renowned David Brainard, about the same time and for a trivial offence, caused much talk throughout the country, and awakened not only sympathy, but indignation. John and Ebenezer Cleaveland had been long settled in the ministry, before the college came to its senses, and gave them their degrees. These facts have still a historic interest, not only as indicating the tone and temper of the times, but as having directly prompted the establishment of the college of New Jersey, which, only two years later, was begun at Elizabethtown, and was afterwards fixed at Princeton. Aaron Burr, its accomplished first president, and Eleazer Wheelock, who, some twenty-five years later, founded Dartmouth College, were both warm friends of the reform which began with the preaching of Whitefield.

John Cleaveland became an ardent and zealous preacher, and was soon invited to settle in Boston,[2] but chose

[2] The Boston Society, whose call he declined, was afterwards known as the Eleventh Congregational Church. It had been formed under the excitement of the Whitefield awakening. Its house of worship was a small brick building in School street, built in 1704 by the French Huguenots. There Pierre Daillé and Le Mercier had preached to the Faneuils, Baudouins, Boutineaus, Sigourneys and Johonnots. The "New Light" society soon settled a Mr. Cresswell, who continued its pastor until he died, in 1785. The building, from that time until its removal in 1802, was occupied by the Roman Catholics.

From a social and worldly point of view the Boston invitation must have been far more attractive than the Chebacco call. But he had found in that plain community of farmers and fishermen one magnet of superior power. I have no doubt that it was the bright and comely Mary Dodge, known later in these papers as his "dear and loving spouse," who virtually determined the question, where he should stay. That the young minister was not without earnest competitors for her hand is still shown by documentary evidence.

rather the small Ipswich congregation, which gave him a call at the same time. This society had then just seceded from the old parish of Chebacco. He was in the eleventh year of a faithful and useful ministry when he received his commission from Governor Pownall. His Journal and letters abundantly show with what fidelity he discharged the trust.

In 1759 he went in the same capacity and with the same colonel to Louisburg. His journal kept during the voyage to Cape Breton, and the sojourn at Louisburg, is well preserved. We have also the sea chest which accompanied him in that expedition still strong and good.[3]

During the next sixteen years, many of which were years of colonial complaint, and of earnest controversy with England, Mr. Cleaveland was distinguished by his zeal for the rights of the colonies, and by his patriotic utterances both of tongue and pen. After Lexington it was the most natural thing in the world that he should be found in that indignant host which gathered around Boston to shut in and to drive out Thomas Gage. There, again, he met in the service of their country his brother Ebenezer and his brother Aaron, the latter still, as at Lake George, one of Israel Putnam's officers. There, too, were all four of his own sons.[4] His quarters were

[3] This chest, containing many papers and relics of the Rev. John Cleaveland, has been placed for perpetual safe keeping in the care of the Essex Institute in Salem.

[4] These were, JOHN, who enlisted for the war and became a Lieutenant; afterwards an exemplary Christian minister, settled first at Stoneham and then at North Wrentham, where he died, childless, aged sixty-eight years. PARKER, a physician in Byfield, served as regimental surgeon at Cambridge, returned to Byfield, where he died, aged seventy-four, leaving an honored name, and sons to bear it on. EBENEZER, who took to the sea, where he died, leaving a young wife and infant son. NEHEMIAH, who became a physician, lived in Topsfield, and ended there, in his seventy-seventh year, a life of distin-

in one of the college buildings — the old structure is standing yet — and he was waited on by his youngest boy, a tall stripling of sixteen years. If during this short service as chaplain he kept a diary, as is altogether likely, it has not come down to us. A few letters of that exciting time alone remain.[5]

In the autumn of 1776 he again served for a short time as chaplain of an Essex County Regiment, commanded by his parishioner and friend, Col. Cogswell. He joined the army just after it had been driven from Long and Manhattan Islands, and his journals of the time enable us to accompany him in all his travel, camp-life, marching, etc.

After this, his last campaign, he lived twenty-three years, ministering to his affectionate little flock, not only in holy things, but in every good word and work. He died in 1799, on the seventy-seventh return of his birthday.

The following description, which I believe to be substantially correct, is from the "American Biographical Dictionary:"

"Mr. Cleaveland had blue eyes and a florid complexion,

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guished usefulness. He left four sons and two daughters. John and Mary C. had also three daughters. MARY, who married Jonathan Proctor, and died in Hopkinton, N. H., leaving sons and daughters, among whom was Deacon John C. Proctor, of Boston. ELISABETH, who m. Abraham Channell, and had a daughter. ABIGAIL, who m. Joseph Cogswell and died in Derry, N. H., leaving a large family. The late Gen. Amos Pilsbury, of Albany, N. Y., at one time Superintendent of the New York City Police, and long distinguished by rare ability and skill in the management of prisons and penitentiaries, was her grandson.

[5] One valued relic which has come to us from that memorable time is an autograph invitation to dine with George Washington. We have also the rude buck-horn-handled sword which the brave chaplain wore in all his campaigns.

was nearly six feet high, erect and muscular. His voice was heavy and of great compass, and his gestures were appropriate. In preaching he was not confined to written sermons. He was a man of strong constitution and ardent temperament. An earnest spirit, an unpolished energy, and a sincerity which none could question, characterized him in the pulpit. His familiarity with the scriptures was proverbial. His general learning was respectable. His writings, though often forcible and fervent, could lay no claim to elegance. He was not afraid of controversy, and more than once ventured into the camps of polemic, as well as those of national war. In his disputes with Dr. Mayhew and others, ponderous pamphlets appeared on both sides."

To me, the image of this brave, whole-souled ancestor has ever been an object of pleasing contemplation. The vivid impression made in boyhood, when I used to hear *my* father talk of *his* father, has only been heightened by what I have since learned of him from other sources. An earnest and honest man, conscientious, faithful, and affectionate, acting and speaking always under a high sense of duty, and throwing his whole heart into everything that he said and did. He was zealous, but with a zeal not untempered by discretion. The Lake George and the Louisburg narratives abundantly show that he knew how to mingle on terms the most friendly, with men whose habits of life and thought had always been very different from his own. It is impossible to doubt that the British nobleman, the English colonel, and even the Church of England clergyman, with whom he then and there came in contact, fully appreciated and readily acknowledged the solid worth of this poor, but brave, Yankee, Puritan, Congregational minister.

The neatly written and well kept document by which Mr. Cleaveland was commissioned runs as follows:—

THOMAS POWNALL, Esquire, Captain General
[SEAL.] and Governour in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province in Massachusetts Bay, in New England, Vice Admiral of the same, etc.

To JOHN CLEVLAND, M. A. Greeting. Reposing especial trust and confidence in your Loyalty, Piety and Learning, I do by these presents Constitute and appoint you, the said John Clevland, to be Chaplain of a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Jonathan Bagley, raised by me for a general invasion of Canada.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Chaplain to the said Regiment, in all things appertaining thereunto, Observing such orders and instructions as you shall from time to time receive from your Colonel or any other your superiour officer, for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Arms at Boston the 13th day of March, 1758, in the thirty-first year of his Majesty's reign. T. POWNALL.[6]

By his Excellency's command,
A. OLIVER, Sec.

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[6]Gov. Pownall's administration, though short (1757–1760), was highly judicious and successful. At its close, he exchanged places with Sir Francis Bernard and went to New Jersey as Lieutenant Governor. Then, for a short time, he was governor of South Carolina. In 1768 he became a member of Parliament, and, during the long contest with the colonies, he was an unflinching defender and advocate of the American cause. In the works of John Adams he is mentioned in terms of high approval. Mr. Adams, during his residence in Paris and in London, saw Pownall often. He died (1805) at the age of eighty-three, having lived to see those colonies, whose character and rights he so well understood and so ably asserted, already become a great and prosperous nation. When we make grateful mention of Burke and Pitt and other stanch friends of America, during those trying times, let us not forget the services and virtues of THOMAS POWNALL.

LAKE GEORGE.

Extract from Bancroft's History, iv, 299.

"On the banks of Lake George nine thousand and twenty-four provincials from New England, New York and New Jersey assembled. There were the 600 New England rangers, dressed like woodmen; armed with a firelock and a hatchet; under their right arm a powder-horn; a leather bag for bullets at their waist; and to each officer a pocket compass as a guide in the forests. There was Stark of New Hampshire now promoted to be a captain. There was the generous, open-hearted Israel Putnam, a Connecticut Major, leaving his good farm, round which his own hands had helped build the walls; of a gentle disposition, brave, incapable of disguise, fond of glorying, sincere and artless. There were the chaplains, who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers, a renewal of the days when Moses with the rod of GOD in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek.[7] By the side of the provincials rose the tents of the regular army, 6367 in number; of the whole force, ABERCROMBIE was the commander in chief; yet it was the gallant spirit of HOWE that infused ardor and confidence into every bosom."

"Fort Carillon was on the promontory near the outlet of Lake George into Lake Champlain. Lake Champlain was on its east, and a bay was on the south and south-west. On the north, wet meadows obstructed access, so that the only approach was from the northwest. On that side, about a half-mile in front of the fort, Montcalm marched out his lines, which began near the meadows and followed the sinuosities of the ground till they approached the outlet."

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[7] "Journal of the Rev. John Cleaveland. Letters of Rev. J. Cleaveland to his dear and loving wife." "I am indebted for the use of these papers to the kindness of the Rev. Elisha L. Cleaveland of New Haven."

On page 303 Bancroft says that Abercrombie, though warned by Stark and others that the enemy's lines were strong, "despised the provincials and heeded none but 'his Rehoboam counsellors'." This is quoted from Mr. Cleaveland's Journal.

In the Journal and Letters as printed, quotation marks distinguish all those portions which are copied with verbal and literal exactness. These show, better than any mere abstract could, the style of the writer, and his habits of thought and feeling. While, in order to avoid prolixity and repetition, other parts are more or less condensed, no essential fact or idea has been left out.

THE JOURNAL.

The opening pages of this diary are missing. It begins abruptly thus, the date being June 14 :—

"me that he[8] had invited my brother E. C.[9] to go his

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[8] JEDEDIAH PREBLE, of Falmouth, a man of much note in his day. In 1755 he served under Gen. Winslow in that seemingly cruel incursion which resulted in the expatriation of the French inhabitants of Acadia. This Journal makes frequent mention of him and his regiment in 1758. In 1759 he was in the army that took Quebec, held a command under Gen. Wolfe, was near him when he fell, and himself received a wound. Soon after this he was made Brigadier General, and intrusted with the command of Fort Pownall, at the mouth of the Penobscot. In 1775 he was appointed Major General and Commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, but declined the service, as being too old. In 1784, at the age of seventy-seven, he closed his active and honored life. Edward Preble, great commodore and naval hero, was one of his twelve children.

[9] EBENEZER CLEAVELAND, already mentioned, and at this time minister of Sandy Bay, now Rockport. He served as chaplain through this campaign, and again, in 1759, he was with Gen. Amherst. And again, in the war of the Revolution, he was a chaplain in two campaigns. Then the impoverished condition of his people made it necessary for him to seek a living elsewhere, and he preached for

chaplain, and wrote to Sir William Peperil[10] for a warrant for brother, in case Mr. Little[11] should conclude

several years at a place called Landaff, deep in the woods of New Hampshire. He returned and died at Sandy Bay, aged seventy-nine. His son Ebenezer was a captain in the revolution. His daughter Mary married Prof. John Smith of Dartmouth College. One of her daughters married Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Professor, and another married John Bryant, a prosperous Boston merchant.

From all that I have been able to learn, Ebenezer Cleaveland fell a good way short of his brother John, both in natural and acquired talents. With a very large family, with very moderate means, and many adverse circumstances, his life seems to have been one long and hard struggle.

[10] In the generally hard and homely annals of colonial New England, the story of Sir William Pepperell has the attractive brightness of an illuminated page. Still it is not impossible that in the present generation of our countrymen, and even among those who are familiar with Appledore and its sister islets, there may be some who have never heard how in 1676 a poor young Welshman settled on the bleak and barren rock called the "Isle of Shoals," and having enriched himself by the fisheries, built a grand house on Kittery Point; how his son William soon rose to distinction, and in January, 1645, being then President of his Majesty's Council, was selected and commissioned by the New England governors to take command of an expedition against the French fortress on Cape Breton; and how, after his great success, he was invited to England, received the thanks of the government, was made a Colonel in the regular army, and came back a baronet. Those who would like to know what sort of man Sir William Pepperell was—what he did and in what style he lived—must be referred to the interesting narrative of Usher Parsons. If they would know how he looked they can see his portrait at Portsmouth, N. H., and also in the gallery of the Essex Institute in Salem.

In consequence of the early death of his son, his name and title and great estate went to his grandson, William Sparhawk. But the second Sir William Pepperell happened to fall upon what, to him, must have seemed evil times. He adhered, as was natural, to the royal side, and so "revolution" drove him from his pleasant home, stripped him of his large possessions, and doomed him to a long life of exile and poverty on a foreign shore.

[11] The Rev. DANIEL LITTLE, of the second parish, in Wells, afterwards Kennebunk, a learned and worthy man.

absolutely not to come; heard this day that our troops have landed at Louisburg without any obstruction and a rumor that the English fleet had destroyed y^e^ French Fleet."

"15. Thursday, last night Capt. Goodwin arrived here, who parted with us when we parted with Col. Bagley[12] at Brookfield, and informs me y^t^ Col. Bagley is arrived at Greenbush with his Regiment and may be expected at Flatbush to-day; I want to be moving forward—two or three in both Col. Ruggles[13] and Col. Nichols's[14] Regiment after lying here but five or six days were taken sick and left so by the Regiment; and I fear very much y^t^ the small Pox will get into the army, so many of the army, both officers and soldiers dayly going into the city. About four o'clock this day Col. Bagley's Regiment began

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[12] Of our Journalist's Colonel, Jonathan Bagley, I regret to say that I know nothing beyond what these pages tell, excepting that he went in 1759, with the same regiment, to help keep Louisburg.

[13] TIMOTHY RUGGLES was son of Rev. Timothy Ruggles, minister of Rochester, Mass., and Harvard graduate of 1732. He was an able lawyer, and had secured an extensive practice, when, in 1755, he commanded a Mass. regiment under Gen. Wm. Johnson, and had a share in the defeat of Baron Dieskau. In the three following campaigns his regiment was still in service. In 1759 and 1760, he was with Amherst as a Brig. Gen. After this he was Chief-Justice of the common-pleas, speaker of the provincial assembly, and delegate to the colonial congress of 1765. Being a loyalist in principle and feeling, he was made mandamus counsellor in 1774. The inevitable result was exile and confiscation. He settled in Nova Scotia, where he died in 1798, at the age of eighty-seven. Gen. Ruggles was a man of large stature and commanding aspect, "his wit ready and brilliant, his mind clear, comprehensive and penetrating; his judgment was profound and his knowledge extensive. His abilities as a public speaker placed him among the first of his day. As a military officer he was distinguished for cool bravery and excellent judgment and science in the art of war, and no provincial officer was held in higher esteem for those qualities." Geo. A. Ward, in "Curwen's Journal."

[14] I can give no account of Col. Nichols.

to come into Flat Bush. All Capt. Whipple's[15] company arrived safe, except one, Jacob Lufkin, who they left at Northampton or hadley, much indisposed by an unlucky Blow upon his blind eye—prayed with Three or four companies of our Regiment this evening—I was much pleased to meet my Friends of Chebacco."

"16. Friday, this morning attended prayers with several companies of my Regiment—this happened a sad affair in our Regiment. Several persons, Capt. Morrow's company, were put under guard for killing some of our Land-lord's cattle, fresh meat being found upon y^{m}. Attended prayers with several companies of our Regiment."

"17. Saturday. Attended prayers. Lieut. Col. Whitcomb[16] was present this was y^{e} first time—this day came on y^{e} court martial for the Trial of those above mentioned, and they found three guilty who were condemned to be whipt two fifty lashes and one twenty-five, but one was

[15] STEPHEN WHIPPLE commanded the fourth company of Bagley's regiment. He lived at the "Hamlet," now Hamilton. The other officers and the men were of Chebacco.

[16] JOHN WHITCOMB, the Lieut. Col. of the Regiment to which the Journalist belonged, was evidently an able and energetic man. From the fact that he and the chaplain were joint occupants of the rude hut which he built in the encampment, as well as from other circumstances mentioned in the narrative, we cannot doubt that their relations were intimate and friendly. He belonged to Lancaster, Mass., and was a staff officer in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755. When Mr. Cleaveland again met his former "chum," upon the tented field, he found him in high command. Chosen a general in February, 1775, by the Provincial Congress, he led a regiment to Cambridge immediately after the Concord raid. He was one of the three general officers who held the first council of war, on the 20th of April. On the 12th of June he and Warren were chosen Maj. Generals, and on the 19th of that month he was next in command to Gen. Ward. "He was," says Frothingham, "one of the sterling, disinterested, uneducated patriot officers of the early revolution, and appears to have enjoyed to a great degree the respect and confidence of his contemporaries." General Whitcomb lived till 1812.

discharged by the Col. and the other two received but 10 lashes apiece, viz. Retire Bacon and Joseph Brown."

"Sabb. 18. this day preached to a large and attentive Auditory A.M. from Deu. 23. 9, and P.M. from Mat. 3. 8. Visited one sick man and prayed with him."

"19. Monday. Prayers early because of our marching towards Scheneacdy. Settled my account with Capt. Van Buren which amounted to a dollar and half besides the dollar Col. Ruggles paid for me: and then passed the River and the whole Regiment marched and arrived safe at night to Scheneactady and put up at Mr. Nicolas Van Patten's, Col. Whitcomb, Dr. Rea, Capt. Giddings and I having marched full 19 or 20 English miles. The Doc. and I rode on horseback having providentially found them" (their horses) "they had been missing several Days and been sought after to no effect. I acknowledge God in this thing and adore him for all his goodness to me since I've been in this campaign and pray y^{t} he would be with (me) and the army and the several Regiments destined to German Flats. My regiment don't seem to be well pleased with our going to that place, but would rather have gone to Crown Point and Quebec."

"Tuesday, 20. this day tarried at Schenectady. took some view of the Town which is very pleasantly and compactly situated according to my judgment it is as large as Charlestown near Boston they have a stone chh. or meeting house the minister is a Dutchman and so are the generality of the people. . . . . The Regiment was this evening called together for prayers. this was the first time y^{t} Col. Bagley has had an opportunity of attending prayers since I have been with the Regiment, who has given orders to y^{e} captains to attend every day while we tarry here at six o'clock in y^{e} morning and seven in the evening; after prayers Maj. Ingersoll came to

town from Albany and brings word that they had advise there y^t^ Major Rogers[17] had been out with a party of fifty men somewhere [near] the Lake, and had an engagement with the enemy in which he lost six men and

[7] Major ROBERT ROGERS, whose name occurs often in this journal, was born about 1730, at Dunbarton, in New Hampshire. In this ill-conducted expedition of Abercrombie, Rogers and his Rangers were conspicuous actors. In 1759, he served under Gen. Amherst, and destroyed the Indian village of St. Francis. In 1760, he was ordered by Amherst to take possession of Detroit and the ceded western posts, and he performed the duty. But this terrible fighter, whom no danger, hardship or difficulty could daunt, seems to have become strangely demoralized, when he no longer had Frenchmen to face nor Indians to hunt down. The hero went to England, but was so shamefully neglected there that he actually suffered from want. He managed, however, to write a book on North America, which he presented to the king. This brought him up, and he was soon sent out as Governor of Michilimackinac. But it was not long before he was accused of traitorous designs and of intriguing with the French — charges on which he was arrested, and manacled and court-martialed. This was in 1765 and 1766. Four years later we find him again in England, and even at court. Soon, however, he gets into trouble, and has lodgings given him in the debtors' prison. After all this, if we may credit his own story, he slips over into Africa, and fights two or three battles under the Dey of Algiers.

And now once more he is in America, and the war of the revolution is just beginning. But Rogers is suspected and watched. They arrest him, and Congress sets him free. This in 1775. In 1776 Washington, being convinced that he is a spy, puts him under guard. Congress again liberates him, and then Rogers, breaking his parole, goes over to the enemy. He was made commander of a corps called the "Queen's Rangers," and at Mamaroneck came nigh being captured. This near approach to the gibbet which he so well deserved seems to have frightened him, for very soon after this he returned to England. In many respects Robert Rogers and Benedict Arnold are twin names. Both signalized themselves by many acts of reckless daring and heroic adventure. Both were spendthrifts, and partly, perhaps, for that reason, both were mean and treacherous. Both also dragged out among Englishmen (with whom, hardly less than with their own countrymen, they were objects of scorn and contempt) the last years of their miserable existence. Rogers died in 1800, and Arnold in 1801.

received a slighty wound himself in one of his legs. there was also this day an alarming rumor in this town, y^t^ Fort Edward was beseiged by y^e^ enemy, and many of y^e^ officers supposed that they heard y^e^ report of great guns from that way, in their march to this on Monday till night, and some asserted y^t^ they heard them this morning, but those that arrived here this evening from Albany heard nothing of it there."

"21. Wednesday. this morning attended Prayers at six of clock, the Regiment still remaining in good health excepting some few particulars, none sick with a Fever for which I bless God: I pray God to be with us to keep us from sin, sickness and every evil occurrence—that he would be with wife, family and people—be their God, strength and everlasting portion. After prayers and breakfast we hired a room for the Field Officers and staff officers to cook their victual in, and were to give 20 s. York currency a week rent. this evening prayers were omitted by reason of a shower of rain, and now we are just informed from Albany that Rogers has lost but four men and is gone out again with three hundred men in great wrath against the enemy."

"22. Thursday. Last night quite late arrived orders from Gen. Stanwix[18] for the two companies of Col. Whiting[19] y^t^ are in town, and for one company and half

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[18]This officer in 1757 commanded a force sent to protect the western frontier. Fort Stanwix, erected by him at the carrying-place to Wood Creek, was on the north side of the Mohawk.

[19]NATHANIEL WHITING, b. 1724 in Windham, Ct., was a son of Rev. Samuel Whiting, first minister of that town. He graduated at Yale College in 1748, and was a lieutenant in Pepperell's expedition, of 1745. In 1755, as Lieut. Col. of the 2d Conn. regiment he was in the battle in which Col. Ephraim Williams was killed, and succeeded him in command. After sharing in Abercrombie's defeat, he was again out with Amherst in the victorious campaigns of 1759 and 1760.

of another in our Regiment to march directly to Half-moon[20]. It is certified that a Flag of Truce is come into Fort Edward; we attended prayers and then supped at our new lodgings, having dined with Domine Vroom, the Dutch minister of Schenectady."

"23. Friday. prayers late this morning by reason of a shower. this evening Col. Bagley received orders immediately to march toward Fort Edward upon the arrival of Col. Williams'[21] Regiment to Schenectady, eight companies of which are to be stationed in this town. The officers and soldiers seem pleased with a thought of joining the army. The Lord God be with us in all our marches and engagements."

"24. Saturday. This morning I gave a short word of exhortation to the soldiers, as we are in some expectation to march this day, and Mr. Johnson of Corris-Brook, about ten miles to the southwest of this town being present

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[20] Half-moon is on the west bank of the Hudson, thirteen miles north of Albany.

[21] In our early colonial times many of the WILLIAMS name were ministers—many of them military men. One of them, ELISHA W., was both a clergyman and a colonel, a judge and college president. Another, Col. Ephraim, died in battle, but lives, and will ever live, in the college which he founded. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, above referred to, was a son of Rev. William Williams, of Weston, Mass. In a letter (still preserved) to Dr. Thos. Williams, of Deerfield, and dated July 11, 1758, he gave a thrilling account of the engagement before Montcalm's breastwork, in which his regiment had taken an active part. Col. Williams became one of the first settlers of Pittsfield, Mass., and still has his monument in the Pittsfield elm, which stood on his ground, and which he saved from the axe. He was made a judge, and is described as a man of martial bearing and jovial disposition. The story of his married life is succinctly and quaintly told by Major Stoddard thus:— "He married first Miriam Tyler, for good sense, and got it; secondly, Miss Wells, for love and beauty, and had it; thirdly, Aunt Hannah Dickinson, and got horribly cheated." Col. Williams died in 1788, aged seventy-five years.

prayed with the Regiment, and after prayers a most melancholy accident; as one of the soldiers was exercising in the Prussian way, when he came to fire, not considering that his gun was charged it went off with two balls —one went through a soldier sitting at a small distance, entering a little below his right shoulder and coming out by his left breast. His name is Moody of Haverhill, who dyed about two hours after. The other ball struck another man's leg, hit the bone, and glanced out the same side. His name is Mash, also of Haverhill, and a third man had one of the balls pass through his jacket and shirt and just touched the end of his finger. He narrowly escaped with his life. This night, Elisha Moody, the man killed, was buried. A great part of the Regiment attended, and the company under arms that he belonged to. After he was let down into the grave I prayed and then made a speech to the soldiers. A Court of Inquiry was made upon the man, William Hermit, that fired his gun that did such mischief, and he was cleared. The poor fellow is much cast down. At prayers this evening I made a speech of some length to the Regiment as they were to march the next day early. there were present many of the town's people, both men and women. The people of the town are very sorry that we must march from them. The people in Schenectady were quite a civil people and they have quite a good sort of a man to their minister."

"25. Sabb. this morning after prayers we set out for half-moon and arrived there at about sunsetting—a march of the best part of twenty miles. I cautioned y^{e} Regiment in y^{e} morning to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy—and they did behave quite civilly in general. But I never saw just such a Sabbath before. We took a long Sabbath-day's journey for our march; at Half-moon

we found two Connecticut regiments, Col. Lyman's[22] and Wooster's.[23] This night we encamped on the hard floor with a blanket under us and another upon us."

"26. Mond. this morning very rainy. One of Capt. George's company broke out with the small Pox in the barn. Tarried at Half-moon all day, wrote a letter to my wife and another to Francis Choate,[24] Esq.; but fin-

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[22] PHINEAS LYMAN was a native of Durham in Conn., where he was born about 1716. After graduating at Yale he settled as a lawyer in Suffield. In 1755 he was commander-in-chief of the Connecticut militia. At the battle of Lake George in 1757, he was second in command, and when Sir William Johnson was disabled, took charge of the troops, and brought the engagement to a successful termination. This journal shows that he was the most influential of the provincial colonels in Abercrombie's army. In 1759 he assisted in the capture of Crown Point and of Montreal. In 1762 he commanded the provincial forces in an expedition against Havana. For several years he was in England, endeavoring to obtain a grant of land on the Mississippi, with a view to founding a colony. At last he so far succeeded as to embark with his son and with others, on his way to the great river. They got as far as west Florida. There died (1775) the general and his son, and the enterprise died with them.

[23] DAVID WOOSTER was born in 1710 in Stratford, Conn., and graduated at Yale College in 1738. In 1739 he commanded a war vessel commissioned to protect the coast. In the Louisburg expedition of 1745 he commanded the "Connecticut," a sloop of war. Sent in a cartel-ship to France, he was denied admittance. Passing over to England, he was received at Court, and obtained a commission as Captain in Pepperell's regiment. In the campaign of 1755 he was Colonel of the Third Conn. regiment, and continued in the service till 1760. In 1775 he assisted in the taking of Ticonderoga. He also served in Canada, where he succeeded Montgomery, on the fall of that officer. On his return he was made Major General of the Conn. militia. He fell, April 27, 1777, at Ridgefield, Ct., while attempting to cut off the retreat of Gov. Tryon.

[24] FRANCIS CHOATE was the chaplain's right-hand man at home, the leader, from the first, of his church and parish. He was also the uncle of Mary (Dodge) Cleaveland. A grandson of John Choate, the first Ipswich settler of the name, he was distinguished in a family which has had far more than the average share of mental ability.

ished neither. Col. Lyman and Col. Wooster marched off towards Fort Edward; tarried at Half-moon this night."

"27. Tuesday. This morning Mr. Ingersoll, Col. Wooster's chaplain prayed with our Regiment, and we set out and arrived at Still-water about one o'clock, where we overtook Col. Wooster's Regiment and dined with the Col. in the Fort, and then he marched forward; and our Reg^{t} after refreshing themselves marched also forward. But the field officers tarried at Still-water and lodged in the Fort."

"28. Wednesday. Marched from Stillwater to Saratoga Fort, where we put up and tarried all night. Fourteen miles from Stillwater to Seratoga."

"29. Thursday. Marched from Seratoga to Fort Miller 5 miles and from thence to Fort Edward, 7 miles, and put up and tarried all night—lodged in Commissary Tucker's tent and fared well."

"30. Friday. This day tarried at Fort Edward. One company of a hundred men under Capt. Morrow was draughted out of the Regiment to tarry at Fort Edward."

"July 1. This day being Saturday, after sending my

His useful life of seventy-six years terminated in 1777, but not his usefulness. One son, John, became a magistrate and man of mark. Another, William, saw in his sons, David and George, their grandfather fully restored. Of these, David died at the age of fifty, leaving Rufus and Washington in tender boyhood. The latter, cut off in his third college year, had already given ample promise of a career not less brilliant than that of his brother soon became. Of Rufus Choate, that rare phenomenon in the realms of mind and of eloquence — who knows not that he was long the pride of Essex County, the boast of Massachusetts and the admiration of our whole country! Not yet, even, is this rich vein exhausted. Descendants of the fifth degree from elder Francis Choate, through his grandson, George, may be seen to-day, *primi inter pares*, on the bench in Essex County, and at the bar of the city of New York.

horse by Isaac Haskell to Capt. Van Buren's with the following articles viz. bridle, saddle, boots, spurs, one pair of yarn stockings, one pair of double-soled German pumps, set out on foot to Lake George. Dined at Half-way Brook with Col. Nichols, Col. Cummings[25] and Mr. Morril, the chaplain, and set out again. Arrived at the Lake before sunset, something fatigued, and lodged with Mr. Forbush, chaplain to Col. Ruggles." .

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[25] In regard to Col. Cummings, Mr. Morril, Mr. Forbush, and Mr. Ingersoll, I have no information beyond what the Journal gives.

[*To be continued.*]

ON THE EARLY DAYS AND RAPID GROWTH OF CALIFORNIA.

By Alfred Peabody.

It may not be generally recollected that California was ceded in 1848 by Mexico to the United States, she paying fifteen million dollars. The treaty between the two governments was signed by the United States in March of the same year, and by Mexico in May.

At that time the extent of the gold fields was not known, though in January it was at first discovered by a man digging a mill-race for Capt. Sutter, who at that time owned the land on which Sacramento City now stands.

When the news of the discovery of gold reached here, *via* the isthmus, in early summer, it was credited but by a very few. Soon several parcels were sent here, and large shipments, with letters from well known residents there, confirming the fact, and with these came also accounts of a large immigration from the region around California, even from the Sandwich Islands and Chili.

The scarcity and high price of provisions, mining implements, houses, lumber, etc., at a place where the returns were gold, greatly aroused the spirit of enterprise, and late in the autumn companies in many of the seaboard cities were formed, and vessels purchased to take cargo and passengers round Cape Horn, there being only one steamer monthly between California and New York, *via* the Isthmus.

About the first of December, 1848, I applied to John

Bertram, Esq., to undertake a voyage there, which resulted in himself and five other gentlemen of Salem loading the bark Eliza,[1] Capt. A. S. Perkins, with an assorted cargo, and I went out in her to dispose of it, and to establish myself as a commission merchant.

The cargo consisted of flour, pork, hams, sugar, coffee, butter, cheese, rice, figs, raisins, dried apples, bread, meal, pickles, boots, shoes, domestics, chairs, nails, cook stoves, bake pans, kettles, axes, shovels, picks, and a great variety of small articles, lumber, and not of least importance, a store, also materials for building a boat or scow, for dredging in the rivers or on sand bars, together with a small steam engine, a lathe, and tools for repairs. There were six passengers, Messrs. John Beadle, Jonathan Nichols, Dennis Rideout, George Buffum, George Kenny and James Parker, all of Salem. One of these was a boat builder, one a carpenter, and two machinists. These were selected from numerous applicants, with a view to carry out our plans on arrival if they were found to be practicable. The "Eliza" was the first vessel that sailed from Massachusetts with an assorted cargo and passengers direct for San Francisco, though Capt. Eagleston was loading the Brig "Mary and Ellen"[2] for the Sandwich Islands when the gold discoveries were confirmed, and he changed her voyage to San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands, and cleared from Salem Oct. 27th.

[1] The "Eliza" was built at Salem, in 1822, by Thomas and David Magoun, for Joseph White; sold by his heirs in 1832 to David Pingree, and again in 1846 to Michael Shepard and others. Tonnage, 204 tons. For several years previous in the Zanzibar trade.

The officers and crew were, *Captain*, Augustine Staniford Perkins, now residing in Salem; *first officer*, Joseph Perkins, who bought a farm at Clipper Gap, California, and has since lived at that place; *second officer*, William Hunt. *Seamen*, Amos Niles, Leander J. Johnson, Ebenezer Fox, William Smith, Henry C. Perkins, Abel Martin, and John Lambert.

[2] See page 124 for an account of this voyage by Capt. Eagleston.

On the morning of our sailing from Derby wharf, Dec. 23, 1848, a great crowd had assembled to take leave of friends, and to give a hearty hurrah. Just as they were casting off the bark's fasts a song,[3] composed for the occasion by some friends of one of the passengers, was struck up by him,

"The wash bowl on my knee,"

Tune, OH! SUSANNA. (Key G.)

1. [3]I came from Salem City,
With my washbowl on my knee,
I'm going to California,
The gold dust for to see.
It rained all night the day I left,
The weather, it was dry,
The sun so hot I froze to death,
Oh! brothers, don't you cry.
Oh! California,
That's the land for me!
I'm going to Sacramento
With my washbowl on my knee.

2. I jumped aboard the 'Liza ship,
And travelled on the sea,
And every time I thought of home
I wished it wasn't me!
The vessel reared like any horse
That had of oats a wealth;
I found it wouldn't throw me, so
I thought I'd throw myself.
Oh! California, etc.

3. I thought of all the pleasant times
We've had together here,
I thought I ort to cry a bit,
But couldn't find a tear.
The pilot bread was in my mouth,
The gold dust in my eye,
And though I'm going far away
Dear brothers, don't you cry.
Oh! California, etc.

4. I soon shall be in Francisco,
And then I'll look all round,
And when I see the gold lumps there
I'll pick them off the ground.
I'll scrape the mountains clean, my boys,
I'll drain the rivers dry,
A pocket full of rocks bring home,
So, brothers, don't you cry.
Oh! California, etc.

and the passengers joined in the chorus. This was called the "California Song," and was sung on board of every vessel going round Cape Horn, and by immigrants over the plains. It was afterwards published in a London Quarterly as a Californian miner's song, illustrative of camp life at the diggings.

After letting go our fasts the bark grounded, a rope was passed from on board to the spectators on the wharf, and hundreds of them laid hold of it with such a gusto that they walked her off as if a powerful tug boat had hold of her.

The voyage from the coast was without any very bad weather, and we had a pleasant set of passengers, rather musical withal—one played the violin, another the accordeon, a third the tamborine, and I played skilfully on the triangle. When we passed near a vessel we would give them the California song, with all the accompaniments.

Anxiety to get out before other vessels, soon to follow us with similar cargoes, stimulated Capt. Perkins to take advantage of every wind, and even the gales, when favorable, and when struggling off Cape Horn I often wished the bark was twenty years younger. Our voyage in the Pacific was a very pleasant one, and much of our time was occupied in building a boat for exploration up the river.

We arrived at San Francisco, June 1, 1849, one hundred and sixty days passage, and anchored about nine, P.M. We went on shore the next morning, landing on an old wharf about forty feet long, the only one in the place. Our first inquiry was if the gold held out, and we were much pleased to learn that before we left home the half had not been told. The city had a very new and unsettled appearance, the streets ran at right angles,

uneven, and no sidewalks, some quite comfortable dwellings, a hotel on one side of the public square, and on the opposite was the custom house; a very rough-looking building, built of adobe or sun-dried bricks. It was one story only, and had a veranda all round it. The shops were mostly of rough boards, their contents articles of first necessity, mining tools and cooking utensils. Every one seemed to be busily employed, opening goods, selling and packing them for shipment. The mines being from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles distant from San Francisco, all goods had to be taken in small vessels up to Sacramento City and to Stockton, and then distributed to different mining points.

In these early days of California, United States laws had not been introduced there, and it was found necessary, in such a mixed population, for the safety of life and property, to establish Lynch law. Any one caught stealing would be strung up on the nearest tree. Going on shore the second morning after we arrived, some persons in a store were telling of their exploits the night before. A man was suspected of a robbery committed a few days before. He was taken by several persons to a tree near by, a rope put round his neck, and he was hoisted nearly from the ground, but his earnest protestations of innocence moved the hearts of his accusers, and they felt that they had made a mistake in the person and let him go. This was rather an unpleasant procedure, and if mistakes of this kind should often occur, I felt that even a quiet man from Salem would be hardly secure.

It was surprising to see how trade and every kind of business were rushed through without regard to the Sabbath. Taking samples of some of our cargo on shore to try the market, the owner of the first store I went into

was so busy he could not attend to me that day, so I proposed calling the next day, Saturday. "No," he said, "come Sunday." I replied that I never did business on Sunday. "Oh well!" said he, "you have just arrived; after you have been here a month you will do as we do." I replied that if no other man in California kept the Sabbath, I should. "You are right," he said; "I wish I stood in your position, but I have gone with the crowd, and I cannot well stop."

As freights from San Francisco to Sacramento City, the head of navigation of that river, were very high, a great saving would be made by taking the "Eliza" up with her cargo. No vessel of her draft of water had ever gone up. After consulting with one of the best pilots on the river, we concluded to go up with her, and agreed with him to pilot her up, after lightening her a little, and he was to accompany her with a large schooner, to take the cargo in case she grounded, for which we paid him one thousand, seven hundred and twenty-five dollars, a heavy pilotage for one hundred and twenty miles. We worked our way up the river, grounding several times, but by heeling the bark, by changing her cargo, chains and anchors, we got her off without discharging any cargo, and in six days after we left San Francisco we moored her to two sturdy oak trees, at the foot of one of the principal streets, where she remained for years, having quite a history, as she was used as a store, a store house, a boarding house, and later, for years as a landing for steamers, in 1868 sold and broken up; most of the timbers and planking were in good condition.

The first outlook on a town of seven buildings and a few tents was not very encouraging to sell a valuable cargo like ours. It was evident from the dusty roads that there was not a little travel, and it must have been for trade, so on looking round we gained courage.

The Plat on which the city was located was covered with large oaks, and oak underbrush. The streets were laid out at right angles, one, upwards from west easterly, and A to Z from north southerly.

We had struck off, at a printing place at Sutter's Fort a mile distant, fifty lists, costing fifty dollars, of the principal articles of our cargo fresh from Salem, and these were sent into the mines, the only means of advertising.

Our crew, all except two faithful boys, left us on arrival. The passengers, on whom we had some claims, went up the river in the boat we built, for the purpose of examining the shallow rivers and bars. They returned in two or three days with unfavorable reports for mining in this mode, which was not unwelcome news, as by that time we had all we could attend to, in waiting on customers for our cargo. It was put up in the best manner, and it was for months alluded to, as the best cargo that had come to California, and customers came down upon us with a rush.

Capt. Perkins, having been well schooled in the Zanzibar trade, made himself very useful, and we made some outside operations on joint account, renewing our stock of goods as we sold out.

The safe arrival up there of so large a vessel as the "Eliza" induced almost every one of light draft of water to follow, and in a short time there were lying alongside the river bank, at every favorable point, twenty-five or thirty vessels, and later Salem was well represented.

On entering the Sacramento river the mosquitoes gave us a warm reception. They were very poisonous, and so persistent we could not eat our meals with comfort. One of the boys had his face so badly stung that he could not see, and I passed several hours in the vessel's top, that I might have a little respite.

A great variety of nationalities would be seen, and some would be almost wild to get to the mines. There

was no conveyance except for a few who could purchase a horse or mule, and most miners were obliged to walk forty or fifty miles, some taking a shovel and pick and a slight change of clothing. Expenses were very high, and no one could afford to be idle, and no one ought to be, for wages were sixteen dollars a day.

The first Saturday night after we arrived, being very tired, I arranged to be allowed to sleep in the morning without being disturbed, but at daylight I was called for something very important; going on deck I found three men and their mules on the river bank, waiting to purchase goods and load up for the mines, and when I told them I did not sell goods on the Sabbath they used very rough language, and this gave me liberty to advise them to keep the Sabbath to prolong their lives and that of their mules, assuring them that it would be better for both, and if they would do so and come at the same hour the next morning, they should be well served. They went away declaring that they would not trade with such a puritanical hypocrite, but it seems they thought better of it, and came as invited, and after coming two or three times for goods they made me their banker, depositing in my safe thousands of dollars.

The immigrants were of almost every profession and vocation—judges, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and artisans of every kind. It was amusing, though praiseworthy, to see them turning their hands to anything to earn a few dollars. I wanted some lumber hauled a short distance; sending for a man who owned a yoke of oxen, I was surprised to have him report himself Professor Shepherd, of New Haven, Conn. He did all the work himself and in a few days earned fifty dollars. I found him a very pleasant acquaintance, and a most excellent man, as well as a good geologist. Hearing that a clergy-

man had come in town, he ventured to invite him to preach on board a bark, but the saw and hammer, driving of teams, discharging and loading of goods all around, were a great disturbance.

The Professor prevailed on me to join him in visiting the vessels and venders of goods, to urge them to refrain from doing business on the Sabbath, to which they all consented; and every one acknowledged that it was the pleasantest day they had passed in California. Service that day was held in a blacksmith's shop, which proved too small to accommodate all. The next Sunday it was held under a gigantic oak, the trunk of which measured twenty-seven feet in circumference.

Seats, boards laid on nail kegs. On this Sabbath Mr. Ball, son of our city missionary in Salem at that time, appeared with a cabinet organ. This drew quite a crowd, and after service the musical gentlemen, some members of the Handel and Hayden society of Boston, gathered around the organ and sang their old favorite tunes with the greatest enthusiasm.

A man near our vessel worked under an oak tree making rough board coffins; he was the only man that would not regard the Sabbath. When we returned from church he boasted of having earned sixteen dollars while we were gone. One of his coffins was taken for him before the close of summer.

The conveyance to the mines was greatly facilitated by the arrival in September of the immigration over land from the western states, furnishing a great number of ox teams, horses and mules, which made it less expensive for the miners.

The immigrants from Missouri, Illinois and Indiana would more easily conform to rough life than those from the eastern states. The females and children were brought

over the mountains in ox wagons, covered, and in and around them were sufficient cooking utensils and furniture to commence their new life. Some of the old pioneers cut down oak trees and cut them in convenient lengths to split, which they used for boarding their houses and also for shingles. Some very fine horses were introduced from Missouri.

A Mr. Flint, of Maine, drove, from one of the western states over the mountains, a flock of sheep, the first of fine wool introduced into California, and now he is the largest sheep owner there, and is very rich.

By this time rough buildings and tents nearly covered several blocks, settlers were arriving daily, and it was a very busy place, with favorable prospects of becoming a commercial city. Among new comers was a man desirous of opening a restaurant, there not being any in the place. We put him up a building of boards eighteen by thirty feet, and covered it with sails from the "Eliza;" rent two hundred dollars per month. This was hardly finished when a doctor came and wished us to build for him one of the same dimensions, to occupy as an apothecary; rent two hundred and fifty dollars per month. Immediately a gentleman applied for a store which he must have in three days, as his goods were to be landed on the bank of the river, and the third day he moved into it; rent three hundred dollars per month. These three buildings were put up by Mr. Rideout, one of our passengers, which was a good advertisement for him, and from that time he never lacked work. He left for home in December, well paid for his six months' work in California. At Panama he took the fever and died. He was attended by a kind Salem man, though a stranger.

On the street and on where we built these stores, we cut down a thick growth of oak underbrush, and in six

weeks, that street with others was watered by a water cart.

Quite a number of families had come in, and Prof. Shepherd collected the children and had a Sabbath school in a little shanty he built of poles and boards. The ground was the floor, and seats pine boards, but we found the children learned as well in it as if under a frescoed ceiling.

Lumber, canvas and cotton cloth having come in freely, some large buildings had been erected; the most costly were used as gambling houses, and of these there were not a few.

Many large groceries were in canvas tents, and it is worthy of note that though they could have been easily cut into and robbed any dark night, I have no recollection of any robbery while I was in Sacramento. On board the "Eliza" we never locked our hatches. So much for Dr. Lynch.

From materials on board the "Eliza," we built two scows, one to be used as a ferry boat across the Sacramento river, the first one in the place, and the other for a German to take his vegetables to market. This man had about an acre cultivated, about four miles below the city. This was an experiment, there not being any other land cultivated anywhere round, and it proved a success. Capt. Perkins went down in his boat and purchased potatoes at sixty dollars per bushel, and other vegetables proportionably high, of which he sold enough at a profit to give us a taste without cost. We, however, indulged in a little extravagance as well as experiment. Taking a squash at two dollars, eggs two dollars per dozen, and milk two dollars per gallon, we made some pies. These reminded us of home and paid us for the trouble. A bag containing about two bushels of onions on the way to the mines passed through our hands at eighty-five dollars.

Prof. Shepherd, while prospecting among the mountains, always carried his blankets for his covering at night, his saddle served as a pillow, and the earth as a mattress. All travellers were obliged to camp out in this way. This exposure and irregular living carried off great numbers the first year in California.

Occasionally an old resident of California came along and spoke of having seen the location of Sacramento under water, but ten to one contradicted these reports, and we thought it could not be true; but when the rainy season came, the river above the city overflowed, and ran in back of it, flooding it all except high ridges. This was a severe blow to the place, causing a great depreciation in real estate, and was proof that it would never be a rival to San Francisco. The next season the water rose much higher than before, inundating the whole city, carrying away houses and furniture. On the trees down below Sacramento near the river, chairs were seen hanging some fifteen feet from the ground. For several days no one could leave their houses, except in boats and on rafts, and in many places they would step from the second story into boats. The city has since been raised, I think ten feet. It is perfectly secure now from floods.

Dec. 1, 1850. My attention was turned to San Francisco to meet Mr. J. P. Flint from Boston, who came out to join me in business, and we formed a partnership under the style of Flint & Peabody. We built a store within thirty feet of the wharf on which we at first landed. While our store was building, two gentlemen, my partner and myself, hired a shanty, one room and kitchen. In one corner we had a table, and when our mattresses were spread on the floor at night it was entirely covered. Some of us were quite accustomed to this mode of life, which was far better than hundreds

around us, living in tents, and there were several hundred of these.

The city had improved greatly in appearance in the few months past, many buildings having been erected, among which were a city hall, a large banking house, a Baptist church — the first Protestant church built in California. I have in my possession a photograph of the original building sent me by a friend last month. A company from Salem had arrived in a ship, and put up a very large building which they rented. That season was a very wet one, none of the streets were paved, and in some low places no teams could pass, and pedestrians often found the longest boots too short.

There was a great accumulation of various articles of merchandise, utterly unsalable, and of so little value, not having store room, they were left out exposed to weather. In one of the worst crossings some half dozen or more boxes of tobacco, one hundred and twenty pounds weight, were placed; also barrels of spoiled provisions. Gold washers, which came out in almost every vessel, and were of no value, were used as stepping stones.

The harbor presented a lively appearance. Some one hundred and fifty to two hundred vessels of different nations were anchored in the bay, and some had been beached to be used for the sale of their cargoes. A wharf eight hundred feet long had been built. Lumber arriving daily had fallen in price, so as to induce a great amount of building, some very large gambling houses, and there were many of them which were well patronized night and day, and seemed to be the only place of amusement for the idle.

In the spring of 1850, a great fire burned over three blocks. It spread so rapidly but little merchandise was saved; every gambling house and saloon was burned. I

think the fire occurred on Thursday. On the Sunday morning following, on our way to church, we passed a building, the only one put up since the fire, and we heard the jingling of the specie on the table, which seemed to be in defiance of the Almighty.

The favorable accounts we gave Mr. Bertram on our arrival induced him to engage in this trade with his accustomed energy. In early spring three vessels arrived with full cargoes, loaded at Salem by Mr. Bertram, and soon after two others followed. We had several other cargoes consigned which kept us occupied.

Capt. Perkins settled up his business and left for home in the June steamer *via* the Isthmus. He was the first that fulfilled the promise of the song,

"A pocket full of rocks bring home."

We were greatly surprised one day at the arrival of two small clipper tea ships, with assorted cargoes from New York, in little over one hundred days. These short passages created quite an excitement, and every one realized the advantage of having their goods come by fast sailing ships.

The gold covering a vast surface of country was an established fact, and could not be exhausted for years. My partner proposed my returning home, and establishing a line of fast ships from Boston, which would command high freights and result in a profitable business. I took the first July steamer to Panama, crossed the Isthmus on a mule, came down the Chagres river in a canoe burned out of a large log, and arrived home in thirty-six days.

Mr. Flint's son was taken into our firm and the style has since been Flint, Peabody & Co. No line from Boston had been established, and seeing the importance of an early movement, an arrangement between our firm and

Messrs. Glidden & Williams to establish one was at once consummated, they to procure freights in Boston, and Flint, Peabody & Co. to collect them in San Francisco, and it was called "Glidden & Williams' Line."

There were but few fast or clipper ships in the United States at that time, and as such ships would command freights at double the price of common ships, it was determined by Mr. Bertram and the owners of the line, with one other firm in Boston, to build an extreme clipper of one thousand, one hundred tons. In September a contract with an East Boston ship builder was made for such a ship, and to have her ready to receive cargo by January 1. Her keel was laid at once, the work progressed satisfactorily, and in due time she was launched. Complimentary to Mr. Bertram, who had been so conspicuous in the California trade, the majority of the owners named her for him, the "John Bertram." She was rigged and fitted for sea, loaded in Glidden & Williams' line, and sailed January 10 with a full cargo, at one dollar per foot or forty dollars per ton. One article of her cargo shipped by her owners was ten thousand dozens of eggs, put up in tins, which sold for ten thousand dollars.

This was the first clipper ship that was built expressly for the California trade. The same owners soon after built the famous clipper ship "Witch of the Wave," of fifteen hundred tons, and subsequently four others of the same model averaging fifteen hundred tons each.

Mr. Bertram and others, with Flint, Peabody & Co., in 1853 established in San Francisco the ice trade, having employed in this five ships, aggregating thirty-three hundred tons. It was afterwards ascertained that ice could be introduced from Sitka at lower rates than from Boston, and they gave up the trade.

June, 1851, a great fire swept over the city. Fifteen

blocks were burned, and eight others partially, occupied by fifteen hundred buildings, estimated loss four million dollars. Flint, Peabody & Co. were burned out; their store was the last building burnt. Their loss was heavy; no insurance.

The line from Boston proved a success, as may be seen by the following statistics, which are copied from the San Francisco almanac of 1859:—

"As an interesting datum in illustration of the changes which have taken place in the commerce of San Francisco, both as regards its nature and its channels, we place the following table before our readers.

It is a statement of the amount paid as freight to, and the number of tons of cargo carried by, and the vessels consigned to a single house, Messrs. Flint, Peabody & Co., commencing with the first ship of that line, the "John Bertram."

AMOUNT OF FREIGHT LIST.

In 1852,	27	ships,	32,959	tons of goods,	$ 854,583 77
1853,	49	"	75,849	" "	1,810,446 29
1854,	30	"	49,727	" "	992,633 29
1855,	26	"	47,681	" "	634,418 93
1856,	26	"	49,499	" "	677,312 57
1857,	24	"	42,791	" "	464,579 69
1858,	25	"	46,892	" "	531,887 01
	207		345,398		$5,965,862 14

Choice fruit, in the early days of California, was almost unknown. I sent out from Boston three hundred pear, three hundred apple, two hundred and fifty peach and one hundred and fifty plum trees, raspberries, currants, etc., all these of the choicest varieties, which we set out on our farm, expecting to realize great profits, but when they came into bearing so many others had done the same thing that fruit could not be marketed to pay expenses.

It may be noticed that from 1854 the quantity of goods

shipped from the east was every year decreasing, as many articles which were formerly shipped from the east were produced there. That has been the case ever since. From July, 1855 to Nov., 1856, one article (East Boston syrup) consigned to our house amounted to $563,588.00. Soon after, sugar refineries were established there, and now they are seeking a market for their surplus syrup.

In 1859 the same house received from Boston a full cargo of flour, sixty-five hundred barrels, which paid a fair freight. In 1869, from July to December 31, the shipments from San Francisco of wheat and flour were equal to one million, six hundred thousand barrels. The same year the wool clip was fifteen million pounds, all of fine quality.

The official returns of the census of 1850 make the population ninety-two thousand, five hundred and ninety-seven. In 1857 the population had increased to five hundred and thirty-eight thousand and two.

As early as 1859 by the "State Register," it appears the "Great Overland" Mail was established from Memphis and St. Louis to San Francisco *via* Fort Smith, to Fort Fillmore above El Paso. Thence to Fort Yuma on the Colorado, to Los Angeles to San Francisco semi-weekly, schedule time twenty-five days. Butterfield & Co., contractors. Also, the Central Overland or Salt Lake City Mail, from St. Joseph, Mo., to Salt Lake, thence through Carson Valley to Placerville, weekly; leaves St. Joseph every Saturday. Schedule time from St. Joseph, twenty-two days. Hockoday & Corpening, contractors.

It appears by the "Register" of the same year that there were one hundred and twenty-seven lodges of Free Masons, and seventy-eight lodges of Odd Fellows; an Agricultural Society, State Horticultural Society, California Society of Natural History, State Medical Society,

Mechanics' Institute, Academy of Natural Science, and thirty-two libraries, containing sixty-five thousand volumes. This does not include the State Library located at San Francisco, the oldest and most extensive in the state, library Santa Clara College, San Jose, Odd Fellows Library Association, San Francisco, Sacramento Library Association and California Pioneer, San Francisco.

There were ninety different newspapers and periodicals published in the state of California; one hundred and thirty-two grist mills; an insane asylum at Stockton, and the United States marine hospital at San Francisco, cost of building, two hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars.

The following shows the value and destination of treasure shipped from San Francisco during the years 1854 to 1869 (sixteen years).

Eastern ports,	$462,088,066
England,	167,703,292
China,	68,050,250
Panama,	9,053,526
Other ports,	17,598,824
	$724,493,958

The amount of duties on imports in 1869 was $8,339,-384.14.

This same year the amount of mining stocks sold at the Exchange Board in San Francisco was $30,037,707. There were also turned out 7,604 tons of new shipping, of which eleven were steamers, three barks, one brig, four barges, and thirty-four schooners. Eight hundred and fifty-eight vessels cleared at the custom house for domestic and foreign ports, 706,452 tons.

In 1873 the arrivals of vessels at San Francisco were 3,647—1,293,398 tons.

Among the manufactories, there was built by Flint,

Peabody & Co., and another firm a rope manufactory, making annually three million pounds Manila rope, some of which was twelve hundred feet long, used for hoisting quartz rock out of shafts. They have a barrel factory; one hundred and fifty thousand barrels and half barrels, and one hundred thousand kegs were manufactured in 1873.

The coinage at the branch mint in 1873 amounted to $22,075,400.

Our Boston house bought the railroad iron for the first railway that was built in California, and negotiations were made through them for the first five thousand tons of iron for the Central Pacific railroad, and also for the sale of the first bonds on that road.

At the close of 1869 I withdrew from the firm of Flint, Peabody & Co., after a partnership of twenty years. The house is continued under the same style, by the sons of the senior partner, who died last March.

To show still farther the changes which have taken place, I have ascertained that only two ships have loaded in Boston for San Francisco the present year, 1873. The revolutions in trade and commerce, and the resources which have been developed in agriculture and manufactures in twenty-five years, are beyond parallel in the history of our country or the world.

The following statistics are taken from the "Trade Review":—

Wheat product of 1873,	25,000,000 bushels.
Wheat and flour exports in 1873,	10,650,000 centals.
Gold and silver yield in 1873,	$ 82,000,000.
Coinage of San Francisco mint in 1873,	22,075,400.
Coinage of mint from 1854 to Dec. 31, 1873,	350,000,000.
Foreign imports, values of, in 1873,	33,560,000.
Merchandise, export value, by sea, in 1873,	31,160,000.
Mining stock sales in 1873,	146,400,000.

Lumber receipts in 1873,	203,330,000 feet.
Wool clip,	36,000,000 pounds.
Domestic coals received in fourteen years,	1,700,000 tons.
Wine products of 1873,	2,500,000 gallons.
Deposits in the California savings banks,	$55,000,000.
Banking capital of the state,	$100,000,000 gold.

The ship "John Bertram" was sold eighteen years ago. She has been running ever since. On the 12th of last month she was in the port of New York, and the captain, her present owner, wrote to a gentleman in this city, speaking of her in the highest terms. He valued her so highly that he wanted the photograph of the person for whom she was named to hang up in his cabin.

Not only did the California trade give birth to the clipper ship, which resulted in the revolution of ship modelling here and abroad (though the extreme clippers were in vogue but a few years, giving place to nearly flat floors, retaining the sharp ends to combine capacity with speed), but innumerable branches of industry were magnified or developed by this trade, and on this 23d of December, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the sailing of the "Eliza" from Salem, it is hard to realize, in the great California of to-day, the rough country we landed at in its infancy.

SALEM, *Dec.* 23, 1873.

AN EARLY CALIFORNIA VOYAGE.*

SOME eighteen months or two years ago New Bedford claimed the clearing of the first ship from Massachusetts with a cargo for San Francisco, after the discovery of the golden elephant had set the world wild and from every point of the compass thousands rushed to the golden waters in pursuit of fortunes from the earthy bowels of the mighty monster. But some friend, in overhauling the New Bedford log and drifting back to dates, I think through the "Register," gave the Mary & Ellen, of Salem, as first on the list for that port. The two articles were stowed away for safe keeping, but at the present time are not to be found. This I much regret, as I would like to give dates.

I now see, by the "Gazette" of January 21, an article by Mr. Alfred Peabody, my friend and pioneer in gold dust seeking, falling into line with the barque "Eliza," December 23, about two months after my sailing as first vessel from Massachusetts for that port, with a cargo for gold dust hunters; as if my clearing *via* San Francisco, thence to the beautiful groves of cocoanuts and plantains, hove the "Mary & Ellen" a little in the shade. If the terms *via* or direct were in the clearance I cannot say; and believing it is of no consequence, I will in "plane

* We are permitted to insert, in connection with the preceding paper, this account of an early California voyage, in the Brig "Mary & Ellen" from Salem to San Francisco, by Capt. John H. Eagleston.

sailing" give your readers a sketch of my log from my first movement, and let them decide to which of the two the first credit belongs. And as I am docked for repairs of one of my main spars, I will wear away a portion of my dull time, while the slow work goes on.

Owing to severe losses, I found I must move in some direction to make them up; and after much thought on the course to pursue, I decided to buy a fast vessel and proceed to the Pacific. As I was well acquainted with all ports from St. Carlos to Guayaquil, where sales of any account could be made, I determined to visit San Francisco and ports south, in order to make what sales might be possible, and learn what the show was for a return cargo; thence to Guayaquil and load some seven hundred quintals of cocoa for Manila, where, and in China, through friends, I could load for the Coast, Society and Sandwich Islands. Going to Baltimore I bought of Hooper & Cheesbury the half brig "Zeno," of one hundred and ninety-five tons, for seven thousand dollars cash, and as she was not registered I named her the "Mary & Ellen," after my two daughters. She was at once loaded with corn and flour for J. Safford, Esq., of this city, and, in charge of a Baltimore captain, made the voyage to Salem in three days. The flour was landed in Salem and the corn in Danversport, the last proving to be a job of some days.

As soon as possible I commenced alterations on cabin, and, wanting a young man to take one quarter's interest and go with me, after consulting several parties the situation was disposed of to Mr. John Henry Proctor.

While on the ways for coppering, the California mail arrived, by which Capt. J. W. Chever received a letter from his son Henry, who was in San Francisco, saying gold had been discovered in large quantity, and enclosing

a list of articles wanted for the occasion. This information was kept quiet, and outside of this I heard nothing of gold. But believing the arrival of the next mail would cause a great movement in that direction, the "Mary & Ellen" was placed in position and loaded with as little delay as possible—the Hon. S. C. Phillips, Capt. Chever and J. W. Peele being the principal shippers; Mr. E. H. Knight shipping an invoice on his own hook, and several other friends doing the same. My cargo consisted of beef, pork, flour, hams, blankets, clothing, crowbars, picks, shovels, tin pans, etc., etc.; also liquors and wines of various kinds. These last, on account of ship, A. & C. Cunningham, and S. F. Wyman, of Boston.

Closing up our wants, we sailed on the 28th of October, 1848, direct for the golden fields, having as passengers D. A. Chever and a Mr. Vaughan, the latter having visited California before, and intending to make it his home; my foremast hands being six boys, each having made one voyage to taste the pleasures of sea-sickness. Owing to heavy easterly weather for fourteen days, we made but little headway, and the passage to the line was long. But here I was pleased to learn we were not the only one on long time, as also to see we were not to be left in the rear, as the slow coach of a large southbound fleet, which was pleasant to view as they dropped astern. And from latitude six degrees north to thirty-five degrees south we came up with and passed thirty-six sail on the same course as the "Mary & Ellen."

In our run to the south, an incident occurred, the like of which, I think, was never logged before. We were under double reefs, with an ugly short sea, and a strong breeze a little forward of the starboard beam, the "Mary & Ellen" more under water than above. The second mate, from the starboard bow, struck a porpoise, and

about the same time the brig made a dive and the porpoise was taken on board between the lee cat and knight heads, and landed by the windlass, greatly enraged with the wild leap he had made; and had it not been for this it would have been impossible to save him.

Soon after leaving home, Mr. Proctor had a running sore break out on the end of his forefinger, right hand, with which, and a consumptive cough of old standing, he gently passed from us, and, mourned and lamented by all, under the usual sea forms his remains were committed to ocean's blue tomb, with the long waves of Cape Horn majestically rolling over his once manly form.

With short detention off the Cape, and a full share of adverse and light winds, we arrived at San Francisco at three P. M., March 28, 1849. A show of the elephant was soon on board, the display of golden eggs from the pockets of land-sharks, and their glowing stories of big lumps setting my boys in a high fever for the gold fields. The second night in, my second mate and three of the boys stole the long boat and ran. The next morning, finding my boat on the beach, and a shark from a den a few rods off by her, I informed him the boat was mine. He replied, "all right. I want forty-five dollars for picking her up." Believing his demand for lying over large, I proceeded to the office of the Alcade, and stating the case to him, he said, "You must pay it; there is no law here to help you." I took his advice, paid it, and went on my way rejoicing that the squeeze was no heavier. Seeing I should soon be left without help, my mate having taken his ticket of leave, I increased the cook's pay to three hundred dollars per month, and that of the boys to two hundred and fifty.

My salable cargo was soon disposed of; and that portion not of ready sale I concluded to take up to Oregon,

and put up several notices for passengers. Three were soon on the list, one of them a Judge Pratt. I was now in want of men. But, owing to the sharks fitting them out, and sending them to the mines for a stated time, and receiving one-half of their diggings for the outfit, it was very difficult to find them ready to move from the golden scenes that surrounded their movements; and knowing they were masters of the situation, they had become very independent and exacting in their notions. Running foul of two or three hard looking coons, I hove aback with, "My men, do you wish to ship?" "I don't know, what is the wages?" "Three hundred dollars per month." "We can do better than that; how are we to live?" "On usual ship fare, and have all you can eat." "That won't do. If we go we must have ham, eggs, butter, soft tack and canned meats, and all the liberty we want while in port." Not wishing to submit to furnishing so goldish and gouty a bill of fare, I hauled off to think the matter over. But having an unexpected call from Ross, Benton & Co., to purchase the "Mary & Ellen" for the same voyage, I sold to them for fifteen thousand dollars in gold dust, and, disposing of a few articles to Mr. Pratt, the balance of the cargo was stored on the beach, at one dollar a barrel per month. At this time, for want of inside room, outside storage was large; and although showing every kind of merchandise, not the first article was ever molested. Cost of landing about twelve dollars per ton, and in some instances largely over this figure. Also freight to Sacramento on flour six dollars per barrel, and to Stockton I paid thirty-six dollars on four barrels of pork.

On the 17th of April I made a shipment of gold dust to J. W. Peele, which I believe will prove to be the first on Salem account from that place.

On the first of June I was very pleasantly surprised by a call from Capt. Perkins and Mr. Peabody, they having just arrived in the "Eliza" from Salem. Information and assistance were given to them to forward their movements in pushing up to Sacramento. By request of my friends, I was to breakfast with them on Sunday morning. On my way to where I was to take the boat, I met Lieut. Blair, of old acquaintanceship, and at this time master of the schooner "Sagadahoc," and running up the Sacramento. Knowing he was well acquainted with the river, and must be a good pilot, I invited him to go on board with me. He did so, and it was arranged between the three parties that he should take the ship up, and, as I understood it, was to be accompanied by the schooner, and, in case the "Eliza" mudded at any time, was to be relieved by her. Without loss of time the "Eliza" was off, my friends delighted at what they had seen of the elephant, and, I have no doubt, rejoicing over the larger show in store for them. In this movement up these beautiful inland waters, I think they will head the list as first vessel of the "Eliza" class and draught that ever ascended the Sacramento river.

On board of the "Eliza" there were quite a number of passengers. Several of these remaining in San Francisco pitched their tent in Happy Valley, where Mr. Jonathan Nichols, stored as he was with fun and song, assisted by his social and free hearted companions, made their quarters at all times inviting and pleasant. I was often with them, and under evening's beautiful sky, did the echo of good singing please the squatters that composed the little beehive villages which dotted the valley, especially with "The Washbowl on my Knee," which was the usual wind-up.

My affairs squared up, I took passage, in company with Capt. N. Batchelder, of this city, on board the steamer

Oregon, Capt. B., about the first of July, for Panama,—passage per head two hundred and fifty dollars. The third day out we were put upon ship-made water, right from the receiving tanks, beautifully hot, and as rusty as an old anchor of twenty years' use. This we thought to be a dodge, by those interested, to force the sale of ale, which now became large at one dollar per bottle. Our table was also very scanty in supply; and although we touched at several places where water and supplies were handy and plenty, not the first show of either was obtained.

One knot more and we leave the Oregon, with her lockers cleared out. On a line with our course, and well to the south, lay a shoal which was not on the ship's charts; but on board were two passengers, a lieutenant in the United States navy and a coast captain who were well acquainted with the shoal, and by them Capt. B. was informed of its existence and position. Of this little notice was taken, and with a show of all confidence in a clear sea before us, the ship under full power was driving onward, ten to eleven miles per hour. The day was pleasant, without sufficient air to ruffle the ocean's glassy surface, when, about eleven P.M., the first officer playing booby in an armchair, and the watch following his example, while fortunately several cabin passengers were still moving about the deck, one of them, an old ship-master, both of steam and canvas, seeing the ship was entering rippling water, jumped on the bridge, saw our danger, and pulled the bell for a stern board. This saved us, and although she struck quite heavily, she was soon backed off, and saved from becoming a monument for others in the line.

Arriving at Panama, mules and guides were chartered for our passage across the isthmus. Moving in the morn-

ing, under a pouring plumb-down rain, and a Don Quixote ride all day, by novel and narrow channels, through a wild, varying and interesting scenery, we reached Gorgona late in the afternoon, in a very uncomfortable condition. And if, as the Feejee men say, sailors, from long use of salt provisions, become too salt for good eating, it was at this time most thoroughly soaked out. In the morning, by canoes and two or three boats, we descended the river, which is small, and at nine P.M. arrived on board the steamer "Crescent City, Capt. Stoddard, for New York, stopping at Jamaica for supplies. Capt. B. and myself reached home on Sunday morning, sometime in August, and I believe showed the first golden lumps brought into Salem from California; as also two small leather bags handed me in San Francisco, under a verbal receipt, containing each one thousand dollars, one of which was for a New Bedford lady, and one for a Mrs. Smith, of Vineyard Haven. These were placed in the Commercial Bank, until called for.

A JOURNAL OF THE REV. DANIEL SHUTE, D. D., CHAPLAIN IN THE EXPEDITION TO CANADA IN 1758.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

THE Rev. Daniel Shute was commissioned as chaplain to a regiment of foot for the invasion of Canada, during the "Old French War." Mr. Shute was the son of John and Mary (Wayte) Shute and was born in Malden, July 19, 1722. Graduated (Harvard) in class of 1743. Ordained as pastor over the Second Church in Hingham, December 10, 1746, and relinquished his public labors in March, 1799, but continued his pastoral relation until his decease, which occurred August 30, 1802.

COPY OF COMMISSION.

[SEAL] THOMAS POWNALL, Esq^r^, Captain General and Governour in chief in, and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Vice Admiral of the same, etc.

TO DANIEL SHUTE, M. A. Greeting. Reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Piety and Learning, I do, by these presents, Constitute and appoint you the said Daniel Shute, to be Chaplain of a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Joseph Williams, raised by me for a general Invasion of Canada.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge

the Duty of a Chaplain to the said Regiment in all things appertaining thereunto, Observing such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from your Colonel or any other Superiour Officer, for which this shall be your Warrant.

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms at Boston the thirteenth of March, 1758. In the Thirty first year of his Majesty's Reign. T. POWNALL.

By his Excellency's Command,
A. OLIVER, Sec.

1758. May 20. About 11 o clock A.M. took leave of home, arrived at Boston at 5 o clock P.M.

31. Set out from Boston with Lieut Col Twing between 9 & 10 o clock A.M. Found Col. Williams and others at Waltham; arrived at Worcester 9 o clock at night. We had the pleasure of riding in y^e^ rain all day. Lodged at Col. Chandler's.

June 1. Very rainy. tarried at Worcester all day, dined at Col Gardner Chandler's.

2. The rain continued,—remained at Worcester all day, where we were very generously entertained by Col Chandler's lady.

3. Dull weather in y^e^ morning. Took leave of y^e^ Col's lady, and went forward, had a very pleasant day, soaked with a heavy rain in y^e^ edge of y^e^ evening, before we could reach y^e^ Tavern in Cold Spring where we lodged.

4. Sunday. Prayed with Cap^t^ Butterfield's Company before we left our lodgings. Travelled about 3 miles, and met Maj Arbuthnot who informed us our Regiment was at Hatfield; arrived at Hadley between 1 & 2 o clock, dined with y^e^ Major; attended publick exercise P. M. with Col. Williams, after which went over to Hatfield, found y^e^ Regiment well and in high spirits. Lodged at Col Israel Williams.

5. The Col spent the day chiefly in administering y^e^ Oath, to y^e^ Officers. (A leaf of the journal missing.)

11. Sunday. Preached at Pontoosuck in y^e^ Fort belonging to Col William Williams which is y^e^ only house inhabited in y^e^ place; near twenty families having moved away for fear of y^e^ Indians.

12. Found very bad bread here, 'tho the poor soldier had been encouraged to take that which was scarce fit to eat at Hatfield, under the promise of having good new bread at Pontoosuck; obliged to take part in stores for y^e^ greater expedition of y^e^ 2^d^ Battalion in our Regiment. Had orders to march by Division, in separate Companies, some went off about 8 o clock, y^e^ last about 11 o clock. We set out about 12, and dined at Guttridges Fort, 5 miles from Col Williams. P. M. marched about 10 miles, and encamped with Capt Wards Company.

13. Marched at 6½ o clock A.M. Dined at the halfway house so called from Kenderhook to Albany, arrived at Greenbush at 4 o clock P.M., upon y^e^ bank of y^e^ river right opposite to Albany.

N. B. The greater part of y^e^ way our Troops marched from Hatfield to Greenbush is inexpressibly bad, and y^e^ greater part of our Regiment at present, what with y^e^ badness of y^e^ way, and what with y^e^ badness of y^e^ bread appear to be unfit for duty.

Just at night I ventured over to Albany in company with Col Williams & Maj Arbuthnot,—was conducted where I was assured there was no danger of taking the Small Pox, which is in five or six places in y^e^ City. Returned, and lodged at y^e^ Tavern kept by a widow Lummis.

14. Wednesday. Moved my Quarters to Mr Witbeek. Brother Ben arrived.

15. Thursday. He took a vomit being much oppressed

at y^e^ stomach. Arms were brought over from Albany for our Regiment.—A cool day, at night very cold for the season.

16. Fryday. First discovered my horse was gone out of Col Renselaar's pasture, much fatigued in looking for him. Sent a party of men after him.

17. Still in quest of my Horse.

18. Sunday. Preached to y^e^ Reg^t^. from Gen. 28 Ch 20. 21 vs.—No exercise P. M. y^e^ time spent in preparation to march y^e^ next morning.

19. Monday. Paid for five days board at Mr Witbeek's two dollars nearly.—the Reg^t^. marched A. M. I went up y^e^ River in a Battoe with the Baggage, arrived at y^e^ Flats between 2 & 3 o clock P. M.; lodged at Mr. Van Burin's. In y^e^ evening paid Col^l^. J Williams 1^£^: 15^s^. 4^d^. my exact proportion of travelling expenses from Boston to Greenbush. (N B Col^s^ Williams and Twing, had each a waiter maintained out of y^e^ common stock from Hatfield and generously treated Officers they fell in company with)

20. Returned from Mr Van Burins at y^e^ flats, by water with Col Williams to Greenbush.

21. Went over to Albany to wait on y^e^ Col^l^., who gave leave I should tarry behind to wait y^e^ arrival of my Chest, and went himself to join his Reg^t^ at y^e^ Flats, took lodgings at Mr. John Lansing's in y^e^ City—much indisposed. Lodged with Mr. K-h-h.

22. Much recruited. P. M. went over to Greenbush. saw Capt J Wh-t-g. Heard our Reg^t^ were ordered to Schenactady.

23. At Albany waiting for my chest.

24. Still at Albany; wrote several letters home. Very hot.

25. Sunday. Went over to Greenbush. Heard Mr.

Pomroy preach from Deut. 32.–29.—Mr. Little P. M. from Nahum 1.–7. At night returned to Albany.

26. Rainy. Went to see Mr. Spencer in y^e^ City indisposed. Waited upon Mr. Pomeroy at my lodgings.

27. Went to Schenactady in company with Doct Fairfield arrived at about 6 o clock P. M.—Lodged at y^e^ Rev. Mr. Vroman's.

28. Took lodgings at Mr. Isaac Truax's.

29. Prayer at 5 o clock in y^e^ morning.—P. M. drank tea at Mr. Langley's an English gentleman at Schenectady.

30. Spent some time in retirement.

1758. July 1.

A letter from Brig^dr^. General Stanwix to Col Williams, informing, that he must in a few days march his Reg^t^ up y^e^ Mohawk River, to y^e^ great carrying place, about 60 miles above the German Flats, and to carry with him two months provisions, artillery, & ammunition, in Battoes prepared for y^e^ purpose, which destination has given great uneasiness to y^e^ Reg^t^.—and not less to y^e^ Officers than to y^e^ Privates.

2. Sunday. Had two exercises in y^e^ Meeting House, the first began at 12 o clock,—the second at 4. Preached from Ex. 23: 20. 21. Drank tea with Mr. Langley.

July 3. Col Williams went to Albany to wait upon General Stanwix, for redress of some difficulties, and for further supplies of Arms, Tents, etc. Dined at Esq^r^. Sanders.—Green of Braintree broke out with the Small Pox in the barracks. Removed.

4. A Negro fellow removed upon the same account. Dined with Domine Vrooman, Predicant, in Schenectady,—in Height 6 feet 4 inches & ½,—and every way large in proportion:—Preaches without notes with little Premeditation. Explains a Text A. M. and preaches

Divinity in y^e^ afternoon as he has bin please'd to inform me several Times. The People here attend their publick religious exercises with great Devotion.—In morals they are not so exact.

5. General Abircrombie with 18,000 Troops imbarked in 1100 Battoes, and 300 Whale boats for Ticonderoga with some artillery.

7. Landed without opposition y^e^ French retreating but soon returned and made some opposition, in which skirmish y^e^ brave Lord Howe was killed. Their Number uncertain, said to be from 3 to 600. They were easily repulsed with y^e^ loss of but few on our side, by report 40 killed and wounded. On y^e^ side of the Enemy 160 taken, and y^e^ greater part of y^e^ rest cut off. Upon Lord Howe being slain the whole army were halted,—and

July 7. lay still upon y^e^ same account. But 18000 men not able to bring him to life. (My chest arrived at Schenectada).

July 8. The Gen^l^ thought proper to attempt to force y^e^ Enemies entrenchments before y^e^ fort, only with small arms. In y^e^ rash attempt, Killed 571. Wounded 1363. Missing 34. The slain and wounded, chiefly Regulars, who were in y^e^ centre, the Provincials upon each wing in y^e^ attack.

It is reported by those on y^e^ spot, that a Skirmish between our advanced Guard, and y^e^ French advanced Guard began very early this morning, ours consisted of about 100 men; y^e^ Gen^l^ suffered none to go to y^e^ relief; the skirmish ceased at 10 o clock, y^e^ French retreating, and a volley was fired from y^e^ Entrenchment, when the Gen^l^ gave orders to march immediately and force y^e^ Entrenchment, but would allow no canon, 'tho eno' lay handy. The engagement continued late in the afternoon. Heard myself, Gen^l^ Johnson declare to God, that when

Abircrombie mentioned to him his intention to retreat to W Henry, he earnestly dissuaded him from it; upon which he was ordered with his Indians in y^e^ evening to march about 2½ miles from y^e^ Sawmill toward the Lake where y^e^ Battoes lay.

July 9. The Army returned to W Henry unpursued by y^e^ Enemy. So many Regular Officers were slain in Battle a Council of War, it seems could not be held on that side of the Lake. It is here confidently reported that two 24^lb^ Cannon were ordered by an express from sd Gen^l^, too this side of the lake to Fort Edward, and ordnance stores from Albany stoped on road. Consummate Prudence; if y^e^ French should beat our army from y^e^ Lake, y^e^ Cannon would help them make a vigorous stand at Fort Edward, and if obliged to abandon that; warlike stores would be necessary at Albany

Preached all day in Schenactada Meeting House, y^e^ first exercise began at 11 o clock—the second half after three.

July 10. Three hundred of our Reg^t^ went from Schenactada up Mohawk River with 60 Battoes loaded with provisions under command of Maj Arbuthnot with an escort guard com^nd^ by Lieut Turner. Hear y^e^ 2 Cannon were bro't back no farther, than y^e^ half way Brook.

11. Went over y^e^ River with Mr Sanders to Col Glin's Farm.—N. B. 60 acres of wheat together and as many of Peas.

July 12. The negro removed 4th Ins. had not y^e^ Small Pox. Another soldier removed under suspicion of having it.

July 13 I wrote Deacon Cushing an acc^t^ of y^e^ Battle at y^e^ Narrows. The Dutch women are more laborious, and dilligent than the men. The men depend most on y^e^ negroes to do y^e^ work, and often get together with y^e^

Pipes especially Morning, and Evening, in y^e^ Stupes before their doors. The women the most distinguished among them go in a loose dress, and all y^e^ forenoon without Stockings, and Shoes, about House to do y^e^ business. When dressed in y^e^ afternoon their dress is loose and y^e^ Petticoat very short so as to show the greater part of y^e^ Legs.

July 14 Wrote to Deacon Cushing a letter to correct the former. Predicant Vrooman with some of y^e^ Quality of y^e^ Town attended Prayers in y^e^ Fort in y^e^ Evening.

July 15. Three o clock P. M. attended y^e^ Funeral of Mr Vrooman's, Brother in Law. After the People were collected who kept abroad, except the relatives of the Deceased; the Clerk proclaimed from y^e^ Stupe before the door, "If any where disposed to see y^e^ Corpse they might come in." But few from the many abroad went in.—the Corpse was soon brought out and laid upon the Bier. The Coffin was made with a regular Taper from head to foot. The top like a pitched roof of a house. The relations to remote Cousins follow next y^e^ Corpse two, and two. The mourners all silent at the Grave. All returned from y^e^ Grave to y^e^ house and drank wine plentifully.

Sunday 16th. Preached in y^e^ Meeting House. First exercise about 12 o clock from Col. 1. 23.—The second at 3 o clock, from Jer. 23. 10.

July 17 Col Twing went to Albany to get arms, and Cartouch Boxes

July 18 Brigadier Gen^l^ Stanwix came to Schenactada.

July 19. Gen^l^ Stanwix gave Orders,—That Col Williams Regiment hold themselves in readiness to march to morrow morning, and to carry 40 or 50 Battoes up y^e^ Mohawk River. About 11 o clock, came driving to Town, and upon examining y^e^ King's store, there was not pro-

visions Eno' to load 10 Battoes. P. M. New York Troops arrived.

July 20 The Jersey & Rhode Island Regts came to Schenactada.

July 21. Still at Schª waiting for stores.—The Dutch here have à nasty practice of yarding their cows in yᵉ Street before their doors, and evry morning take yᵉ dung of yᵉ Cattle into yᵉ middle of yᵉ street and throw ashes and other dirt there.

July 22 Dined with Col Twing.—Post Prandus.—Wrote to Mrs ——.

July 23. Sunday Mr Spencer, New York Chaplain, preached 11 Chron 32 v. Genˡ Stanwix and yᵉ Regular officers present. In his address to them acknowledged their great goodness in coming to N. America with such noble views, and the Disingenuity of yᵉ people in failing to make them grateful returns. And after discanting awhile on their wonted Lenity in discipline, advised yᵐ to more vigorous measures to prevent deserting. Preached to my own Regᵗ from Math 7.—13. 14.

July 24 Wrote to Dⁿ Cushing and others.

July 25 The remains of Col Williams Regᵗ marched from Schenactada 216 in all.—Navigated 24 Battoes up yᵉ Mohawk river. the rest went as an escort guard. I went aboard one of yᵉ Battoes.—helped sett with a Poll, when we had rapid water, went about 7 miles, and Encamped.

July 26. On board of Battoe. P.M. Col Williams went aboard one.—Had challenge to go with any, when ours went by,—with authority demanded of Capt Slocomb a setting Poll, or two,—delivered,—encouraged our men with yᵉ promise of Grog, and beat him on yᵉ second Trial. went about 9 miles and encamped below Genˡ Johnson's.

July 27. Fell between 2 Battoes and hurt my leg

badly. To day went about 7 miles and encamped. Lodged with y^e^ Colonel at Capt Funda's, an Indian Chief under Gen Johnson, who treated us with great Generosity.

July 28. Worried along 13 miles to day and encamped at Mr Fry's, y^e^ water for 6 miles not rapid. At sunset a Dutchman arrived he was shot at, about 2 miles above Mohawk River.

July 29 Went about 11 miles. Should have got further but detained by leaving a Battoe in y^e^ morning where we Encamped. The Col very fractious, worked hard to day. Encamped very late opposite Fort Aurdrick. Many of y^e^ Soldiers obliged to go without eating and lodged in y^e^ open Damp Air.

July 30. Sunday. Six miles—arrived at y^e^ little Carrying Place 12 o clock. about a mile over. Spent y^e^ rest of y^e^ day in getting y^e^ lading over. The Doctor and I so lucky as to get ours over first. Pitched our tents and enjoyed ourselves.

July 31. Lay at y^e^ little Carrying preparing to move forward. A.M. very rainy. Our Battoes not all over till y^e^ afternoon; then waited for the Regulars to get theirs over, who beged our Protection. Very much indisposed with the Dysentery.

August 1. Pushed off our Battoes at 7 o clock. reached Fort Harkiman at 11 o clock. 6 miles—and spent y^e^ rest of y^e^ day in taking out stores. Encamped at y^e^ West end of the Fort, in daily expectation of being atacked here, in y^e^ forenoon fell a fine sleet.

Aug 2^d^ To day our Guard a mile and a half from the River, about 3 o clock discovered a small smoke by y^e^ side of y^e^ River in very thick woods. A man appeared on y^e^ Bank of y^e^ River & suddenly disappeared, upon which Suspicion arose in our minds, we were ambushed. I went a shore with y^e^ Col and Party to make discovery,

found y^m a party of our Escort Guard. who had come down to y^e river, reached about 15 miles.

Aug 3 About 18 miles to day. Encamped at Col Schuyler's Farm by some called y^e great Indian Farms. Five Guns fired at Duck, by y^e Col & others in his Battoe. Vastly imprudent so far advanced in an Enemies Country. Finished y^e Eggs bro't from home in my chest, all proved good.

Aug 4. Met Maj. Arbuthnot going Express from y^e Fort to Gen^l Stanwix, occasioned by information received this morning from some Oneida Indians, that a Body of French & Indians with Artillery would be upon them in two or three days. About 4 o clock P.M. arrived at y^e great carrying place 12 miles from our last night' Encampment.—Not having time for y^e Quarter Master to lay out y^e ground pitched our tents irregularly, near where Fort William stood The Fort is now inclosed with Palisades by y^e New York troops, and lies at y^e North end of Fort Cravin burnt by Webb, which our people have inclosed also with timber to secure themselves.

Aug 5. A. M. very rainy. Col Williams dined in Fort Cravin. The rain ceased at 12 o'clock. The Col came to y^e Encampment about 5 o'clock P.M. was greatly surprised we had not struck our Tents and pitched them in regular form for which he had given no order.

Aug 6. Preaching appointed for this forenoon, but a number of the Oneida Indians Tribe came in y^e morning, and declared a Body were three days ago at Oswangagee, it was tho't proper to omitt it, and spend y^e day in clearing away the brush, and tall weeds round y^e Encampment. A Party went P.M. as far as Bulls Fort 4 miles from hence no discoveries.

Aug 7 Went into y^e Woods with hands to get Timber to raise my Tent with. A scout of 18 men went out to day.

Aug 8. Drawed Logs round y^e^ Camp Brest-work. A Party sent out and bro't in Lt Baron, who lost y^e^ Party of 18, he went with yesterday.—Raised my Tent.

Aug 9. Our Reg^t^ continued to surround y^e^ Encampment with Logs.—A Party of 12 men sent out on a scout; y^e^ 18 returned made no discoveries. The Jersey Blue's arrived at 12 o clock. P.M. Very rainy, our Camp nothing but mire.

Aug 10. Nathaniel Stoddard died of the Dysentery, about 2 o clock this morning, buried at 10.—Dined with Col Williams to day in Company with Mr Brainard, and the first since I left Schenactada, and but once there, and once with Col Twing. Gen^l^ Stanwix arrived at the Great Carrying Place. Bradstreet also.

Aug 11. A considerable frost y^e^ morning.—Very hot in y^e^ middle of y^e^ day wrote to my Father. P.M. Went to see Col Doty's Reg^t^, my heart was grieved to find y^e^ men so greatly fatigued, and nothing comfortable to take. No Sutler, no Doctor, no Chaplain with them. The several Col^ls^. on y^e^ spot advised with. Notwithstanding y^e^ opposition made chiefly by Col Williams, a Detachment made from y^e^ several Reg^ts^ to go forward under y^e^ command of Col Bradstreet, where is not disclosed, supposed to be Cataraugue, alias Frontinack viz

Regulars	155	Col Williams	432
Rangers	60	" Dotey	243
New York	1,112	Artillery	20
Rhode Island	318	Battoe Men	270
Jersey's	412	Indians	70

Total 3092 men.

N. B. The Reg^ts^ on y^e^ spot very much broken Doty's between 4 & 500. Rhode Island about 600 &c &c.

Aug 12 The detachment made, next day Sunday, but no preaching. The day spent in making preparation

for y^e^ March, in carrying Battoes, whale boats & Provisions over Morass Creek, about a mile from where Fort Cravin stood, to a Fort built with Pallisades called Fort Newport.

Aug 14 The command under Col Bradstreet March A.M. Maj Arbuthnot desired me to note, that he had left some money and other things in the hands of Mr. Camel, or Campbell, merchant in Schenactada. His Papers, Orders, &c., with H Arbuthnot; and in case he sho'd not return to inform his wife. Lt Peek with a Party joined the Reg^t^.

Aug 15 Very rainy.—wrote to Dea Cushing, Doct Tufts &c.

Aug 16 The Troops under com^d^ of Col Bradstreet marched from Fort Newport.

Aug 17 The Gen^l^ refused to let any sick of our Reg^t^ go home.

Aug 18 Doct Fairfield, and I spent y^e^ day in moving Tents to y^e^ eminence where y^e^ Fort is designed to be built, and on y^e^ next day y^e^ Reg^t^ moved the Encampment to y^e^ same Place.

Aug 20. Sunday. No preaching. All y^e^ troops on y^e^ spot imployed. y^e^ rain prevented an Exercise which was to have begun at 6 oclock. Dined with Col Delancey

Aug 21. Drank Tea with Mr Brainard.

Aug 22 Very Hot. Spent y^e^ day in getting timber for my tent.

Aug 23 Last night went y^e^ Rounds with Col Williams or rather at three o clock this morning. Very hot. Gen^l^ Stanwix received confirmation of the reduction of Louisburgh.—between 12 and 1 o clock, discharged 21 Cannon, and all y^e^ Troops gave 3 huzza's.

Aug 24 Cut my foot. Died a Soldier of Capt Butterfield's named ——

Aug 25. Drank tea with Mrs Brainard. Capt Eb W—t—g. with 36 privates joined us.—Benj Hubbard of Capt Slocomb's died at 10 o clock at night.

Aug 26 Drank tea with Miss J——r & B——d at Col Williams Tent. Lodged in my new Tent. Very hot.

Aug 27 Sunday. Suprized much with a Report delivered with an air of certainty, that there had bin lately a terrible Earthquake in New England by w'h, much damage was done to Buildings, and many people killed & half Charlestown swallowed up. Upon inquiry found no reason to depend on s'd Report.

The Reg^{t} all at work, & on Guard. After work at night preached a short discourse from 1 Chron 16. 31 v. being y^{e} first Sabbath after y^{e} Confirmation of y^{e} reduction of Louisburgh.—began Exercise about ¾ after 6 o clock.

Aug 28. Very Hot. Spent y^{e} afternoon with Capt Eb W—y, and several Regular's Officers. At sunset a very smart shower, and heavy Thunder, high wind, and hard rain in y^{e} night, lay dry in my new *wooden tent.* Others very much soaked in their Osombrige Tents

Aug 29. Cool after y^{e} Thunder.

" 30 Very cold last night.—recd several letters from friends at Hingham.

Aug 31 Pleasant Wrote to Dea Cushing & Mrs Gardner.—hear that Wm Gold a Negro of Capt Slocomb's Co died at y^{e} little carrying place returning home.

September 1. Had opportunity early this morning to send y^{e} letters wrote yesterday. P.M. Nathaniel Gardner died.

Sept 2. By an Express to Gen^{l} Stanwix heard y^{e} news of y^{e} reduction of St Malo's. At 12 o clock discharged the cannon here, and y^{e} Troops gave 3 huzza's. Dined with Col Williams on Salt Fish, after dining at home on Roast Beef.

Sept 3. Sunday. Wrote Dea Cushing of Nath[l] Gardners death. Spent y[e] day in my Tent. Just about Sunset arrived two Indians with letters from Officers with Col Bradstreet & Party informing of y[e] reduction of Cataroqui or Frontinac. The news rec[d] with great joy in the Camp, 21 Cannon discharged and 3 huzza's given before dark. concluded with throwing several shells from a small mortar.

Sept 4. Doct Fairfield very sick. Very rainy night.

" 5 In the morning y[e] Small Pox discovered on a man in the Hospital. Upon examination by Doct Norton, of the York forces, judged it had already turned, by a constant purging had bin prevented filling so as to be observed, 'tho a few appeared full,—but y[e] most were flatted He was immediately moved at a distance from y[e] Encampment. had bin in the Hospital two days, I must therefore have bin much exposed as well as others to take y[e] distemper, as I visited the sick in y[e] Hospital, and prayed with them while he was there, at night took a Mercurial Pill.

Sept 6. Obtained the Col[s] consent to go to Schenactada, if I could get an opportunity; at a stand whether to go, or stay. Upon mature tho't, and advice of friends, Judge it to be most prudent to go.

Sept 7. By Col[s] Delancy & Glazier advised not to go; may a Wise and Good Providence direct me:—determined if an opportunity sho[d] seasonably present to imbrace it, if not to make myself easy here. Just at night Lieut Tuckerman, with a party in Battoes arrived from Schenactada, and unexpectedly ordered by the Gen[l] to go back to morrow.

Sept 8. Battoes detained till to morrow to carry letters from Col Bradstreet, who arrived yesterday from Bull's Fort, 4 miles hence, where he ordered his Party to halt

and divide y^e^ Plunder taken at Frontinack, and come himself to Camp this afternoon.

Sept 9. At one o clock Saturday left the Oneida Station come in a Battoe with L^t^ Tuckerman. Observed the leaves begin to fall from y^e^ Trees by y^e^ river side, chiefly from y^e^ Oy^l^ Nutt tree. Came 13 miles and Encamped at y^e^ great Indian Fields. encamped y^e^ sooner, for y^e^ sake of the sick, 30 of whom we had with us

Sept 10 Very rainy last night. Sweat plentifully in my Tent. Rose this morning at 3 o clock, ordered a fire struck up. prepared something comfortable for y^e^ sick, took breakfast, and on board our Battoes an hour before sunrise; just before sunsett arrived at y^e^ little Carrying Place.—53 miles to day.

Sept 11. Sett out about 11 o clock, and thankful that I could have Soldiers to bring my chest over, for we could not obtain a wagon. — at 1 o clock, got down Fort Henerick—at 3 o clock halted at Mr Jacob Oels, a chh Minister,—took refreshment, and lodged there,—treated with hospitality, and for me nothing to pay next morning—14 miles

Sept 12 Sett off 6 o clock in the morning, 7 at night arrived at Schenactada 46 miles. N. B. The distances I mention running down the river, more certain than those going up.

Sept 13 Went to y^e^ Barracks very early this morning to take care of y^e^ sick bro't with us,—Spent chief of y^e^ day with Mr Hitchcock. Drank tea with Mr Saunders. at night took 8 grains of Calomel, agreeable to direction from Doct Norton, preparatory to having y^e^ Small Pox.

Sept 14 The Bolus taken last night operated very gently this morning, about 10 o clock took a portion of Cream of Tartar, operated well

Sept 15. Rested very well last night, and feel better

to day than did yesterday or y^e^ day before. This afternoon secured a place to have y^e^ Small Pox in, with a very clever family, and at a proper remove from y^e^ Main Street in Town. The Man, Landlord Truax's Son, his wife the Daughter of the former Minister of this Place. Every thing at present takes place as I could desire for wch I hope I'm not ungratefull to a kind Providence. at night took 8 grains of Calomel

Sept 16. The Mercury taken last night operated kindly this A.M. at 10 took Cream of Tartar. P.M. Mr Spencer Chaplain of the New York forces, arrived here from the Oneida Station Indisposed.

Sept 17. Sunday. Rested well last night except being chilly awhile, after first going to bed, and free from any symptoms of Small Pox this morning. Heard Mr Hitchcock preach all day. 1st Discourse from y^e^ 76 Ps. 7v— 2^d^ Discourse from y^e^ 139 Ps. 23 & 24 verses. Spent y^e^ fore part of y^e^ Evening at Mr Saunders.

Sept 18 Very well this morning. Wrote to Dea Cushing my Father & Mrs Gardner by Serj^t^ Lincoln. — About 10 o clock, my head began to ache, and continued with a pain in my Arm till 5 o clock P. M., which, as I had no pain in my Back, I did not conclude to be Symptomatical of y^e^ Small Pox, but the effect of some cold taken by carelessness in y^e^ use of Mercury. Spent y^e^ afternoon with Mr H—k—k. & Mr Spencer.

Sept 19 Had an uneasy Night from Pain in my Neck and between my shoulders wch continues this morning, but am free from pain in my Head and Back. About 11 o clock came on a dulness in my Head. P. M. Dulness continues, and at times sensible of Dizziness, especialy if attempted to read.—felt better in y^e^ evening. Perceived an Eruption on my thigh this morning could hardly get my feet warm by y^e^ fire, before I went to bed.

Sept 20 Very chilly and cold last night after I got to Bed. Slept comfortably. waked in the morning in a gentle sweat; my Pains in great measure removed, found an eruption on my left wrist, simular to that on my thigh, and said by my Landlord's wife to look like y^e^ Small Pox. Doctor Grafton of the New York Forces, and used to Innoculation of the contrary opinion. Sent the letters I wrote last night to Col Williams at y^e^ Oneida Station p^r^ Col Doane. As I went to bed last night, drank some warm "Phlip."

Sept 21 The "Phlip" I took last night, gave free perspiration, rested well, and felt better this morning, then for several days past. Spent y^e^ Evening abroad

Sept 22. Rested pretty well, but hot and feverish part of y^e^ night. still troubled with dizziness in my head. Had my Horse brought up and shod, and took a ride in the afternoon. Spent the evening with Mr Hitchcock, came to my Lodgings about 9 o clock. Dizziness in my head increased,—burnt very much after abed, and no rest for two, or three hours.

Sept 23 Much better this morning, but very little of y^e^ disagreable sensation in my head, by which am ready to conclude my Disorder, a sort of a fever was at its crisis last night. . . . My conclusions I find to be very false. Dizziness in my Head before noon came on to a greater degree.—In y^e^ beginning of y^e^ evening taken with a violent pain in my head, & y^e^ small of my Back and a high fever. The Disorder was of y^e^ nervous kind.[1]

Oct. 6. Went abroad being a very pleasant day. Ventured as soon as I tho't it safe, that I might be y^e^ sooner ready to go home, took no cold.

[1] From the 23d of September to the 6th of October there is no entry in his Journal. It would seem that he was down with the Small Pox, although he makes no entry to that effect.

Oct^{r}. 7. Better. rode out;—in y^{e} evening, had a visit from M^{r}. Frelinghussen, Dutch Minister of Albany.

Oct^{r}. 8. Sunday. Rode out in y^{e} forenoon & afternoon had a high fever from 3 o clock to 7.—Slept pretty well. Mr Frelinghussen to see me.

Oct 9. Much better, rode out tho' cloudy dull wether.

Oct 10. A very dull day, or should have sett out for Albany.

Oct 11. About 12 o clock left Schenactada. Stoped an hour at Mr John Lansing's, at Albany, and took some refreshments, finding myself a little recruited, crossed the River at sunset—lodged at Mr Witbeak's.—But little sleep.

Oct 12 Waited for Brother Ben, till 12 o clock.—took dinner and set out for Kenderhook, rode about 4 miles, and happily overtook Mr Martin of Cambridge bound home: Stoped at y^{e} half way house, and while there Broth^{er} Amos came up much indisposed, give him some refreshment, advised him to tarry 'till Ben came up, and being too ill myself to tarry went forward with company, arrived at y^{e} Mills in Kenderhook sun an hour high,—20 miles,—rested something better.

Oct 13. This morning on Horse back, by sun an hour high. Went to the Stone House to breakfast, 9 miles, arrived at Sheffield 28 miles from Kenderhook. lodged at Brigadier Dwight's. Rested still better.

Oct 14 A rainy morning, and continued raining 'till about 3 o clock P. M. when I set out with Mr Martin; travelled about 5 miles, and obliged by y^{e} rain to put up, lodged at Mr Dana's

Oct 15 On Horse back by sunrise; took breakfast at Chadwick's 4½ miles. Entered the "Green-woods" at 9 o clock, bad travelling after y^{e} rain, got thro 2 o clock. (y^{e} wood 18 miles.) Took refreshment at Roots 30½ miles

from Sheffield. continued our Journey to Springfield 21 miles, arrived at 7 o clock.—lodged at Mr Hitchcock's Fathers.

Oct 16. Set out from Springfield about 11 o clock: at night lodged at Mr Jones of Western.

Oct 17 Got my Horse shod at Mr Padocks near Mr Jones's Showery day.—at night lodged at Mr Roberts of Liecester. thundered in y^{e} evening.

Oct 18 Clear cool morning.—Exchanged my horse Dan^{l} Lynde for a young mare, gave a Johannas to boot. took some refreshment at Mr McCarty's at 3 o clock.—lodged at Mr Cushings of Shrewsbury.

Oct 19 Pleasant Morning.—Lodged at Mr Cushing's.—Waltham.

Oct 20 9 o clock took leave of Mr Cushing.—1 o clock dined with Col Williams wife.—got home about 8 o clock in y^{e} Evening.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

Watson Street Burial-ground.

ADAMS, LOIS, wife of Capt. Joseph and dau. of Benj. and Lydia Bowden. June 8, 1800, aged 21 yrs., 15 d.

" SARAH P., wife of William B., and dau. of John Pedrick. Aug. 28, 1838, aged 47 yrs.

ALLEN, MARY, dau. of William and Mary. Oct. 18, 1807, aged 16.

ASHTON, SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Elizabeth. May 17, 1802, aged 20 yrs., 11 m.

ATKINS, REBECCA L., wife of John. Aug. 20, 1855, aged 32 yrs.

BALLARD, SAMUEL, H., son of Elisha and Elizabeth. Aug. 6, 1833, aged 21 yrs., 10 m., 6 d.

BARKER, MARTHA, wife of Capt. Thomas. Feb. 17, 1822, aged 71 yrs., 3 m., 8 d.

" ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Martha. Feb. 15, 1798, aged 12 yrs., 8 m.

" RUTH, wife of Capt. John. Jan. 8, 1817, aged 98 yrs., 7 m.

BARTLETT, FAITHFUL. Jan. 10, 1748-9, 66th yr.

" BETHIAH HOOPER, dau. of Faithful and Ann. June 21, 1742, 35th yr.

BASSETT, MICHAEL. Sept. 30, 1820, aged 66.

" TABITHA, wife of Michael. May 15, 1798, aged 41.

" JOSEPH, son of Michael and Tabitha. Jan. 30, 1779, aged 3 m.

" NANCY P., dau. of Michael and Tabitha. Jan. 16, 1780, aged 5 wks.

" JOHN, son of Michael and Tabitha. Apr. 27, 1785, aged 1.

BEAL, MARY. Oct. 14, 1832, aged 74.

BESSOM, RUTH, wife of Capt. Philip. June 3, 1794, aged 31 yrs., 5 m.

BESSOM, HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Philip and Ruth. Oct. 20, 1795, aged 5 yrs., 11 m., 18 d.

" JOHN R., son of Philip and Betsy. Apr. 6, 1810, aged 2 yrs., 11 m.

BLACKLER, NANCY, dau. of Capt. William and Rebecca. Nov. 22, 1800, aged 17.

" LUCY, wife of Capt. John C., and dau. of Richard and Lucy Harris. Apr. 21, 1803, aged 20.

BLANCHFIELD, HANNAH, wife of Oliver and dau. of Capt. Wm. and Mary Pedrick. Aug. 2, 1827, aged 42.

BLANEY, ELIZABETH, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth. March 31, 1729, aged 8 yrs., 2 m., 17 d.

" HANNAH, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth. Apr. 1, 1729, aged 6 yrs., wanting 43 days.

" JOSEPH, son of Joseph and Elizabeth. Apr. 22, 1729, aged 10 m., 22 d.

" JONATHAN. July 28, 1757, aged 21 yrs., 6 m.

BOWDEN, MICHAEL. Aug. 19, 1792, aged 74.

" MARY, wid. of Michael. Sept. 20, 1799, aged 80.

" (BODEN) MARTHA, dau. of Capt. Benjamin. June 4, 1807, aged 16 yrs.

BOWEN, NATHAN, Esq. Dec. 23, 1776, aged 79.

" EDWARD, Esq., eldest son of Nathan, Esq. Oct. 5, 1796, aged 75.

" EDWARD, 2d. Nov. 27, 1805, aged 27.

" NATHAN, Esq. Aug. 9, 1837, aged 85.

" ELIZABETH, wife of Nathan, Esq. May 18, 1797, aged 36.

" MARY, wid. of Nathan, Esq. May 21, 1838, aged 81.

BRADSTREET, Rev. SIMON, pastor of 2d ch. 33 yrs. Oct. 5, 1771, aged 63 yrs.

" MARY, wife of Rev. Simon. Oct. 18, 1768, aged 51.

" [ ]Y.—tr. 22, 1762, aged [ ] y., 7 m., 16 d.

BRAY, Capt. EDMUND. May 27, 1858, aged 89.

" EDMUND, son of Capt. Edmund and Sally, at sea, buried on the Island of Java. Aug. 20, 1835, aged 36.

" SARAH, dau. of Knott P. and Mary. Sept. 13, 1851, aged 3 yrs., 1 m.

BROUGHTON, NICHOLSON, Esq. Aug. 3, 1798, aged 73 yrs., 7 m.

" SARAH, wife of Major Nicholson, and dau. of Joseph and Sarah Pedrick. June 18, 1793, aged 62 yrs., 9 m.

" SUSANNA, wife of Capt. Nicholson, and 3d dau. of John Glover. Sept. 9, 1796, aged 29 yrs., 6 m.

" FREDERICK, 5th son of Capt. Nicholson. Oct. 31, 1820, aged 19 yrs., 4 m.

BROWN, HANNAH, wife of Joseph. Feb. 16, 1805, 27th yr.
" ABIGAIL, wife of William P. Jan. 4, 1817, aged 37.
" MARY ABIGAIL, dau. of William P. and Abigail. June 12, 1818, aged 18 m.
" ROBERT, son of William P. and Abigail. Feb. 5, 1821, aged 6 yrs., 4 m.
BUBIER, MARY, wife of Peter. Aug. 28, 1768, aged 24 yrs., 7 m.
" SARAH, dau. of Peter and Mary. Aug. 8, 1781, aged 18.
" TABBA T., wife of John, U. S. Navy. Oct. 16, 1822, aged 30; also their twin daughters.

CHIPMAN, ELIZABETH, wid. of John, Esq. June 17, 1785, aged 62.
COURTIS, REBECCA, wid. of Francis. Jan. 16, 1813, aged 43.
CRAW, GEORGE CLARK, son of Philip and Elizabeth. Aug. 23, 1799, aged 5 yrs., 5 m.

DAVIS, SARAH, wife of Thomas. Sept. 6, 1797, aged 47 yrs., 1 m., 21 d.
DENNIS, ABIGAIL, wife of William and dau. of Nicholas and Susanna Quiner. Nov. 3, 1818, aged 27 yrs., 1 m., 7 d.
DEVEREUX, JOHN, only child of Joseph and Lydia. Jan. 3, 1788, aged 39 yrs., 6 m.
" MARY, wife of John and 2d dau. of Nicholson Broughton, Esq. Oct. 26, 1796, aged 41.
" MARY, 2d dau. of John and Mary. May 6, 1828, aged 49.
" SARAH, 4th " " " " " Feb. 15, 1855, aged 71 yrs., 8 m.
" JOSEPH, after an illness of 16 yrs. Feb. 20, 1796, aged 70 yrs., 5 m.
" SUSANNA, wid. of Joseph. Mar. 19, 1823, aged 93.
" JOHN 3d. Dec. 14, 1812, aged 36.
" JOSEPH N., son of John 3d, died on board ship Asia, four days from Batavia, and buried in Straits of Gasper. Oct. 4, 1836, aged 26.
" MEHITABLE, wife of Capt. Nicholas B., and eldest dau. of Thomas and Mehitable Cloutman. June 24, 1828, aged 43 yrs., 7 m., 8 d.
" MARY BROUGHTON, youngest dau. of Capt. Nicholas B. and Mehitable. July 19, 1828, aged 6 m., 19 d.
DISSMORE, BETSY, wife of Thomas. Dec. 31, 1828, aged 25 yrs., 5 m., 17 d.
DOLLIVER, WILLIAM, son of Thomas and Sarah. Dec. 18, 1815, aged 32.

FARRER, Capt. TIMOTHY, b. May 15, 1783, d. June 19, 1820.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Timothy, b. June 27, 1777, d. April 12, 1847.
FELTON, POLLY, wife of John, and a child. Feb. 24, 1822, aged 32.
FULLER, JOHN, son of James and Mary. Dec. 26, 1777, aged 6 wks.
" MARY, dau. " " " Sept. 6, 1784, aged 1 year, 2 m., 15 d.
" JAMES PRINCE, son of James and Mary. Mar. 26, 1787, aged 11 yrs., 7 m., 21 d.
" MARY, wife of Thomas. Oct. 22, 1803, aged 37.

GAIL, SAMUEL, son of Capt. Samuel and Mary. Nov. 2, 1787, aged 25 yrs., 2 m., 8 d.
GALLISON [ ] wife of Capt. John (tomb). Nov. 24, 1754, aged [ ].
GATCHELL, JEREMIAH. Feb. 25, 1749, aged 70.
" JUDITH, wid. of Jeremiah. Feb. 24, 1750, aged 71.
GIRDLER, SARAH, dau. of Capt. Lewis and Sarah. Mar. 17, 1795, aged 7 d.
" SARAH, dau. of Capt. Lewis and Sarah. July 15, 1797, aged 13 m., 19 d.
" MARY, wife of Robert. July 28, 1801, aged 76 yrs., 8 m.
" Capt. ROBERT. Apr. 17, 1847, aged 85.
" JOSEPH. Jan. 2, 1849, aged 59.
" Miss MARGARET. Apr. 7, 1849, aged 89.
GLOVER, PATTY, wife of Samuel. Dec. 1, 1786, aged 17 yrs., 8 m.
GREEN, HULDAH, wid. of Darius and dau. of William and Deborah Waitt. Feb. 27, 1807, aged 66.

HANSEN, Mr. LARS, Erected in memory of, who was born in Arendath, Norway, 1761, d. Marblehead, Feb. 24, 1788, aged 27.
"Her under Weter
Den salige ungé Karl
Lars Hansen Fod
Arendath Norgé adret 1761
Dod. Marblehead the
24 Februari 1788."

HARRIS, RICHARD, Esq. July 14, 1790, aged 52.
" ANN, 1st wife of Richard, Esq. May 31, 1770, aged 27.
" LUCY, 2d " " " " Oct. 13, 1790, aged 41.
" LUCY, eldest dau. of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. Mar. 20, 1780, aged 8 yrs., 8 m.
" KATHERINE, dau. of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. May 9, 1791, aged 12 m.

HARRIS, ANNE BRADSTREET, dau. of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. Jan. 19, 1799, aged 24.
" JOHN GERRY, son of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. May 24, 1802, aged 15.
" JOHN, 2d son of John and Eleanor. Aug. 16, 1783, aged 1 yr., 10 m.
" JOSEPH, 5th son of John and Eleanor. Mar. 21, 1793, aged 11 m., 7 d.
" BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, son of John and Eleanor. Jan. 4, 1800, aged 14 d.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Mason. Feb. 15, 1793, 41st yr.
" ROBERT. Dec. 12, 1794, 52d yr.
" SARAH, wife of Robert. Nov. 19, 1799, 64th yr.
HINDS, ELIAS, "youngest son of Capt. Benjamin, whose remains lie near this place." Sept. 11, 1797, aged 17 yrs., 6 m., 18 d.
HITER, SAMUEL, son of Capt. Samuel and Hannah, drowned Marblehead harbor. Sept. 17, 1808, aged 20 yrs., 4 m.
HOMAN, NATHANIEL, only ch. of Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Aug. 11, 1821, aged 10 m.
HOOPER, NATHANIEL. May 1, 1760, aged 49 yrs., 3 m.
" HANNAH, wife of Nathaniel. Aug. 31, 1747, aged 38 yrs., 8 m.
" HENRY, son of Nathaniel and Hannah. June 13, 1745, aged 6 yrs., 9 m.
" MARY, dau. of Nathaniel and Sarah. June 12, 1761, aged 5 yrs.
" SARAH, dau. of Nathaniel and Sarah. May 18, 1762, aged 12 yrs., 4 m.
" SARAH, wife of Dea. Robert. Nov. 18, 1754, aged 27 yrs., 6 m., 2 d.
" NATHANIEL, son of Robert and Polly. July 3, 1801, aged 2 yrs., 6 m.
HORTON, Capt. SAMUEL. May 22, 1817, aged 72.
" ELEANOR, wife of Capt. Samuel and youngest dau. of Maj. Nicholson and Sarah Broughton. Sept. 16, 1807, aged 45.
" NICHOLSON BROUGHTON, son of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Sept. 11, 1794, aged 1.
" WM. WILLIAMS, son of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Dec. 27, 1801, aged 1 yr., 10 m.
" MATILDA JANE, dau. of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Nov. 2, 1802, aged 11 m.
" Capt. SAMUEL, son of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Aug. 7, 1815, aged 22 yrs., 11 m.

HORTON, Miss MARY. Aug. 6, 1829, aged 50 yrs., 7 m.
HUBBARD, ABIGAIL, dau. of Wm. B. and Sally B. May 10, 1853, aged 10 m.
HUMPHREYS, MARY, wife of John. Feb. 8, 1786, aged 29.

INGALLS, JOHN, after an illness of two years. Oct. 2, 1836, 52d yr.
" HANNAH, wid. of John. May 10, 1842, aged 61.

JOHNSON, Capt. BENOICE. May 4, 1830, aged 68.
" SARAH, wife of Capt. Benoice. June 13, 1800, aged 29.
" SARAH, b. Oct. 13, 1756, d. Sept. 9, 1846, 90th yr.

LAMPRELL, SIMON. July 10, 1824, aged 48 yrs., 8 m., 26 d.
" ELEANOR ANDREWS, wife of Simon. Aug. 27, 1855, aged 82.
" MARGARET P., dau. of Simon. Oct. 20, 1812, aged 6 yrs., 1 m., 9 d.
LEE, MARY, dau. of Jeremiah and Abigail. Sept. 15, 1747, aged 15 d.
" SAMUEL, son of " " " Aug. 7, 1750, aged 30 d.
" ABIGAIL, dau. " " " " Aug. 3, 1758, aged 6 m.
" SAMUEL. July 6, 1753, aged 61.
(On tomb with wife of Capt. John Gallison.)
LEECH, Capt. NATHANIEL, lost at sea. Sept. 29, 1776.
" DEBORAH, wife of Capt. Nathaniel. May 9, 1803, 56th yr.
LEWIS, Capt. EDMUND. June 8, 1805, aged 57.
" TABITHA, wid. of Capt. Edmund. Aug. 28, 1814, aged 62.
LINDSEY, DEBBY, dau. of Capt. Joseph and Debby. Feb. 4, 1799, aged 14 m., 15 d.
" DEBBY, dau. of Capt. Joseph and Debby. July 16, 1801, aged 1 yr., 11 m., 20 d.
" A son of Capt. Joseph and Debby, still born. Oct. 13, 1801.
" NATHANIEL, son of Capt. Joseph and Debby. Oct. 27, 1805, aged 16 m.
MANSFIELD, Capt. ISAAC. Dec. 20, 1760, aged 65.
" ANNA, 1st wife of Capt. Isaac. Aug. 24, 1749, aged 58 yrs., 7 m., 8 d.
" MARY, 2d wife of Capt. Isaac. Sept. 14, 1756, aged 56 yrs., 4 m.
" ISAAC, Esq. Apr. 12, 1792, aged 72.
" RUTH, wife of Isaac, Esq. Feb. 5, 1784, 65th yr.
MARTIN, SAMUEL. Dec. 28, 1789, aged 88.
" SARAH, 1st wife of Samuel. Dec. 23, 1779, aged 31.
" MARY, 2d " " " Oct. 24, 1823, aged 71.
" NATHAN B., son of Nathan B. and Sarah. Aug. 5, 1791, aged 4.

MARTIN, ELIZABETH, dau. of Nathan B. and Sarah. Aug. 20, 1791, aged 1.
" ALICE H., dau. of Ambrose B. and Elizabeth. Apr. 8, 1799, aged 3 yrs., 8 d.
" ABIGAIL, wife of Thomas and dau. of George Bridgeo, after the birth of her child, Mar. 23, 1807, aged 16 yrs., 6 m.
" SARAH, wife of Capt. Arnold, and only dau. of John Griste, Jr. Jan. 25, 1819, aged 68 yrs., 4 m.
" KNOTT 3d, tomb. 1825.

MEEK, Capt. THOMAS. Dec. 3, 1811, aged 54.
" CHARITY, wife of Capt. Thomas. Sept. 7, 1796, aged 39.
" LYDIA, religious consort of Capt. Thomas. July 8, 1803, aged 42.
" MARY, wid. Capt. Thomas and eldest dau. of Stephen and Elizabeth Phillips. Sept. 18, 1844, aged 89.
" CHARITY, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Charity. Aug. 3, 1801, aged 15 yrs., 11 m.

NOWLAND, HANNAH, wife of James. Jan. 18, 1796, aged 27 yrs., 5 m., 15 d., and a child.

OLIVER, BETSY, only child of Dr. Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Apr. 8, 1785, aged 4 yrs., 4 m., 4 d.

PAINE, MARY, relict of Francis. Mar. 16, 1793, 76th yr.
" MARTHA, wid. of Henry and dau. of John and Deborah Blackler. Sept. 10, 1824, aged 67.
" SAMUEL G. —— ——, aged 2.
" SAMUEL G. —— ——, aged 23 m.
and an infant.
"Our dear Mother."

PATTEN, MARY, dau. of Capt. Edmund Bray. Mar. 15, 1866, aged 70.
PEDRICK, SARAH, wife of Joseph. Oct. 26, 1788, aged 83.
" Capt. THOMAS. Sept. 23, 1802, aged 66.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Richard and dau. of John and Elizabeth Carder. Dec. 14, 1804, aged 60 yrs., 9 m.
" HANNAH, dau. of Richard and Elizabeth. Nov. 23, 1802, aged 16 yrs., 8 m., 8 d.
" JOHN, 3d son of Richard and Elizabeth. July 15, 1853, aged 80.
" ELIZABETH, wife of John and dau. of Edward and Jane Fettyplace. Sept. 16, 1813, 37th yr.
" Capt. WILLIAM. Oct. 24, 1803, aged 65 yrs., 8 m., 7 d.

PEDRICK, MARY, wid. of William. Oct. 25, 1815, aged 72.
" EBENEZER. Aug. 22, 1817, aged 46.
" JOSEPH. Mar. 27, 1826, aged 62.
" JOHN, Esq. June 17, 1833, aged 73.
" SARAH, wid. of John, Esq. Jan. 18, 1848, aged 84.
" JOHN, 4th son of Capt. John and Sarah, drowned in Marblehead Harbor. Sept. 17, 1808, aged 21 yrs., 13 d.
PHILLIPS, ROBERT, son of Robert and Nancy. May 18, 1818, aged 1 m.
" LYDIA ANN, dau. " " " Jan. 6, 1821, aged 1 yr., 6 m.
POTE, SAMUEL. Sept. 12, 1789, aged 58.
" ANN, wife of Samuel. June 30, 1787, aged 60.
POUSLAND, Capt. WILLIAM. Jan. 15, 1804, aged 38.
POWER, MIRIAM, wife of Thomas and dau. of Capt. John and Miriam Russell. Sept. 9, 1796, aged 41 yrs., 5 m.
" SARAH, wife of Thomas and dau. of Capt. William and Mary Blackler. Jan. 20, 1800, aged 29.
" LEWIS R. Oct. 20, 1827, aged 38 yrs., 6 m., 10 d.
PRINCE, Capt. JOHN. Apr. 15, 1787, aged 51.
" ANNA, wid. of Capt. John. Jan. 11, 1830, aged 92 yrs., 8 m.
" JAMES, son " " " and Anna. Sept. 18, 1765, aged 1 yr., 9 m.
" NATHAN, son of Capt. John and Anna, at sea. July 22, 1789, aged 19 yrs., 6 m., 13 d.
" JOSEPH A. B., son of Capt. John and Anna. Dec. 27, 1795, aged 23 yrs., 6 m., 4 d.
" SALLY. June 6, 1826, aged 45.
PROCTER, JOHN, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born Feb. 14, 1736–7, d. June 9, 1737.
" ABIGAIL, dau. of Jona. and Elizabeth, born Apr. 3, 1734; d. Dec. 30, 1737.
" ANNIS, wife of Joseph. June 27, 1758, aged 34.
" Capt. JEREMIAH. Nov. 1, 1798, aged 71 y., 6 m.
" JOSEPH, son of William and Deborah. Aug. 8, 1804, aged 6 yrs., 11 m.
" Capt. JONATHAN. Mar. 1, 1806, aged 53.
" JEREMIAH, son of Capt. Jonathan. Oct. 25, 1795, aged 17.
" JANE, wife of Capt. John. Aug. 5, 1813, aged 38 yrs., 4 d.
" MARY, wid. of William. May 11, 1835, aged 96 yrs., 7 m.

QUINER, SUSANNA, wife of Capt. Nicholas. Oct. 5, 1822, aged 66 yrs., 10 m., 2 d.

REED, Capt. EBEN'R, consort of Sarah. May 25, 1785, aged 44 yrs., 2 m.
RHOADES, LYDIA BIRMINGHAM, dau. of Joseph and Mary. Sept. 22, 1757, aged 27.
" MARY, dau. of Joseph and Mary. Oct. 8, 1757, aged 32.
ROBIE, THOMAS, son of Thomas and Mary, and grandson of Rev. Simon Bradstreet, Jan 3, 1792, 18th yr.
ROUNDEY, GEORGE, schoolmaster. Jan. 21, 1799, aged 41.
" JONATHAN. July 25, 1812, aged 64.
RUSSELL, MARY, dau. of Capt. Wm. and Hannah. July 3, 1810, aged 14 yrs., 10 m.
" HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Wm. and Hannah. May 15, 1812, aged 23 yrs., 7 m., 9 d.
" LEWIS, son of Capt. Wm. and Hannah. Jan. 21, 1823, aged 21.
" Capt. JOHN. May 20, 1811, aged 83.
" MIRIAM, wife of Capt. John. Dec. 19, 1817, aged 80.
" Capt. JOHN R. Nov. 24, 1817, aged 63.
" LOIS, wife of Capt. John R. Apr. 18, 1800, aged 41.
" SAMUEL H., b. May 23, 1784, d. June 19, 1869.

SHERMAN, MARY P., wife of Marshall. Jan. 24, 1856, aged 27 yrs., 9 m.
" ANNA S., dau. of Marshall. Sept. 27, 1846, aged 2 yrs., 8 m.
" MARSHALL, son of " Jan. 4, 1850, aged 1 yr., 3 m.
SKILLEN, Mrs. ELIZABETH, tomb, 1772.
SKINNER, Capt. JOHN. May 23, 1747, aged 38.
" WILLIAM, Gent. Mar. 21, 1762, aged 23.
SMITH, JAMES, born Dec. 11, 1767, d. Dec. 6, 1857.
" SALLY PEDRICK, wife of James, born Aug. 16, 1767, d. July 6, 1816.
" REBECCA CLEAVES, dau. of James and Sally. Aug. 3, 1794, aged 2 yrs.
" JAMES, son of James and Sally. Feb. 8, 1796, aged 1 yr., 3 m., 6 d.
STACEY, Dea. SAMUEL. June 29, 1743, aged 67 yrs., 3 m.
" Capt. JOHN. Dec. 25, 1749, aged 53.
" AMBROSE. July 20, 1753, aged 24.
" WILLIAM. Nov. 28, 1759, aged 28.
" LYDIA, wife of Ebenezer. Sept. 5, 1761, aged 60.
" BENJAMIN. May 4, 1762, aged 62.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Jan. 30, 1762, aged 52.
" Capt. RICHARD. Apr. 5, 1792, aged 58.
" JOHN, son of Capt. Richard. —— —— aged 2 yrs., 2 m.
" NATHANIEL, son of Capt. Richard. —— —— aged 3.

STACEY, LYDIA, dau. of Capt. Samuel. June 12, 1801, aged 3 yrs., 4 m., 5 d.
" JOHN. Aug. 4, 1804, aged 50.
" NANCY, wid. of John. Dec. 22, 1841, aged 87.
" EDWARD. Jan. 26, 1805, aged 42.
" EDWARD, son of Edward, at sea. Feb. 23, 1813, aged 21.
" SAMUEL, " " " Sept. 1, 1818, aged 22.
" BENJAMIN P., son of Edward and Charity. Mar. 9, 1828, aged 34.
" WILLIAM. Mar. 27, 1841, aged 51.
" JOHN, son of William. Mar. 19, 1845, aged 20.
" WILLIAM, son of William. Sept. 11, 1850, aged 28.
STEVENS, Capt. Thomas. May 29, 1802, aged 40 yrs., 9 m.
" JOHN A., son of Capt. Thos. and Elizabeth. Nov. 12, 1804, aged 16.
STILES, SARAH, wid. of Ezra, and dau. of Nathan Bowen, Esq. July 3, 1796, aged 66.
STORY, JOHN. Apr. 15, 1754, aged 30.
" RUTH, wife of Elisha and only dau. of the late patriotic John Ruddock of Boston. Mar. 21, 1778, aged 32.
SWAZEY, JOHN, 3d son of Samuel and Susanna, drowned, with the whole crew, near Cat Island, Oct. 18, 1767, aged 16.
" SAMUEL, eldest son of Samuel and Susanna. Dec. 30, 1778, aged 25.

TEDDER, VALENTINE (see Pond St. B. G.). Oct. 8, 1804, aged 68 yrs., 7 m.
THOMPSON, WILLIAM, son of Thos. and Barbary. Nov. 27, 1806, aged 20 m., 4 d.
" CHRISTOPHER GRANT, son of Benj. and Margaret. Aug. 2, 1826, aged 18 m.
" SAMUEL, son of Benj. and Margaret. Feb. 23, 1837, aged 1.
TREFRY, JOHN, eldest son of Samuel S. and Sally. Nov. 9, 1821, aged 3 yrs., 5 m., 7 d.
" SUSANNA. Aug. 29, 1836, aged 76.
" SUSANNA, dau. of Capt. John and Susanna. Jan. 17, 1796, aged 6 yrs., 2 m.
" SUCKEY, dau. of Capt. John and Susanna. Dec. 21, 1806, aged 10 yrs., 8 m.
" JOHN, son of Capt. John and Susanna. Sept. 11, 1814, aged 22 yrs., 3 m., 28 d.
" TABITHA, dau. of Capt. John and Susanna. Mar. 10, 1829, aged 29 yrs., 4 m.
TWISDEN, Capt. CHRISTOPHER. Apr. 20, 1767, aged 67.

TWISDEN, SARAH, wife of Capt. Christopher. Oct. 10, 1766, aged 66.
" CHRISTOPHER, son of Capt. Christopher. Apr. 22, 1767, aged 28.

VINNING, Mrs. MARY. Aug. 24, 1809, aged 59.

WAITT, SAMUEL. Sept. 10, 1798, aged 47.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Mar. 26, 1781, aged 31.
" BETSY, dau. of Samuel and Sarah. Feb. 14, 1786, aged 2.
" SAMUEL, son " " " " May 25, 1796, aged 11.
" WILLIAM. Nov. 22, 1803, aged 92.
" DEBORAH, wife of William. Aug. 13, 1803, aged 92.
WARNER, EBEN'R (a native of Springfield). May 15, 1790, 55th yr.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of Eben'r. Dec. 11, 1800, aged 59 yrs., 4 m.
" HANNAH, dau. of Eben'r and Elizabeth. July 23, 1787, aged 19 yrs., 10 m.
" JOHN C., eldest son of John and Rebecca. Jan. 22, 1810. aged 4.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Rebecca. —— —— aged 2 d.
WEBSTER, MARGARET, wife of Nathan. Aug. 28, 1835, aged 32.
WILLARD, REBECCA PITMAN, dau. of Jacob, Esq., and Elizabeth. Apr. 11, 1815, aged 4 m., 8 d.
WITHAM, BURRILL. May 27, 1852, aged 68.
" SALLY B. wid. of Burrill. Dec. 15, 1852, aged 58 yrs., 2 m.
" SAMUEL B. Sept. 19, 1852, aged 1 yr., 9 m., 20 d.
" MARY SUSAN. Sept. 7, 1852, aged 7 yrs., 10 m., 21 d.
WORMSTED, JOSEPH, son of Joseph and Mary. Sept. 30, 1834, aged 3.
" JOSEPH S., " " " " " Sept. 20, 1838, aged 3.
" Capt. BENJAMIN. Jan. 11, 1848, aged 68.
" MARTHA, wid. of Capt. Benjamin. Sept. 10, 1848, aged 67.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

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MEMOIR OF JOHN LEWIS RUSSELL,

BY

EDMUND B. WILLSON.

[COMMUNICATED MAY 13, 1874.]

JOHN LEWIS RUSSELL, son of John and Eunice (Hunt) Russell, and grandson of William and Mary (Richardson) Russell, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, Dec. 2, 1808, and died in the same town, June 7, 1873.

William, the grandfather, born in Boston, May 24, 1748, was a schoolmaster and adjutant of a regiment of artillery in his native town. He was a zealous patriot in the revolutionary period, was one of the "sons of liberty," assisted in the destruction of the British Tea in Boston harbor on the 16th of December, 1773, and later, having entered the naval service of the country, was captured and confined three years and more in Mill Prison, England.

John Lewis, the subject of this notice, was sent to the Latin School in Salem, in 1819. His father removing to

Amesbury the following year, he was for a time placed under the tuition of "Master Pike" in the Academy at Newburyport, but finished his preparation for college under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Barnaby of Amesbury, a Baptist clergyman. He entered Harvard College in 1824, graduated in 1828, engaged in the study of theology the same year, and graduated from the Divinity School in Cambridge in 1831.

From 1831 to 1854, Mr. Russell occupied various Unitarian pulpits for longer or shorter periods; among them those in Fishkill, N. Y., Burlington, Vt., Pittsburgh, Penn., Kennebunk, Me., Chelmsford, and the Second (South) Parish in Hingham, Mass. In the last named place he was settled for more than seven years continuously, from June 26, 1842, to Sept. 1, 1849, and preached there by extended engagements at other times, nearly three years in all. In 1853, upon the death of his father, he returned to Salem where he continued to reside till his death, preaching only occasionally.

On the 4th of Oct., 1853, he married Hannah Buckminster Ripley of Greenfield, Mass., who survives him. They had no children.

Mr. Russell's chosen profession, it will be seen, was that of the ministry. Though he did not spend the greater part of his active years in permanent pastoral relations with any religious society, his heart was in this calling. He was interested in theological inquiry and marked its progress with a keen attention. He had great respect for good learning, and never failed to pay due honor to true scholarship. He held up before himself and others high standards of training and attainment in the ministry; and though his personal tastes led him persuasively to the study of nature, and his deep moral convictions and humane feelings impelled him strongly to certain forms of

philanthropic discourse and action, he set none the less value upon patient research, sound criticism, and the fruits of thorough professional culture. As a preacher his reputation was the best with the most thoughtful and advancing minds, and his pulpit efforts showed vigor and ability. We find him setting off for a distant state to preach in the early part of his ministry, with the cheering assurance of his teacher, the honored and beloved Prof. Henry Ware, Jr., that he had no need to fear that he would not find himself welcome and useful, provided he went "with a courageous spirit;" that discerning counsellor adding: "I am a little fearful that you want that *boldness* which is necessary to the best action of a man's powers, and that from your self-distrust you fail to put forth your utmost strength." Concurrent with this judgment, is that of another early friend and distinguished scholar and preacher* who writes since his death: "My impressions of him were that he was a man of more ability than the world knew of, of a singularly observing and acute mind, and of warmer sympathies than he was wont to express. . . . If his personal ambition had been greater he would have attracted more notice from the world."

At an early age Mr. Russell showed a marked fondness for botanical observation and study. This interest was materially strengthened during his college course by acquaintance with a few in Cambridge of similar taste. He kept it, and it increased when he went out into the world to preach. This pursuit was with him something more than a recreation. Side by side with his ministerial work it held its place in his regard without, however, causing his earnestness in the minister's work to flag. It was some five and thirty years ago that I first saw him. A lad

*Rev. Geo. Ripley.

sixteen or eighteen years old I was introduced into a clergyman's "study" in a country village in the north of Middlesex county. Somewhat familiar with the aspect of country clergymen's studies, I had never seen anything like this before. Of books there were enough; about the usual number of shelves and volumes, I think: I find I do not remember much about them. What I noticed more was that all the available room was filled with plants and flowers; green things and beautiful. In a corner stood fishing rod and tackle; and disposed in odd nooks, boxes, baskets, and cases, such convenient furnishing, it may be presumed, as the botanist and student of nature requires for his pursuits. The apartment was lovely as a garden; and when, presently, the minister who wrote sermons there, and there opened the books of God's Scripture and Revelation in many kinds, came in, he was one to whom the place seemed befitting; hearty in his greeting, fresh, natural, radiant with health, bubbling as a fountain with spirits and humor, as if he knew the woods and pastures and streams for many a mile round about, as no doubt he did. He stood like a brother among the stalks and plumes, Nature's own child.

Wherever this man went to fill a pulpit the lovers of nature gravitated towards him, and he made them his allies. They attended him to the fields, and ranged with him the steep hills and the miry swamps. His animated talk and moist kindling eyes as he described the graces of the ferns and the glories of the grasses and the lichens quickened the love of beauty in them. He imparted stimulating knowledge of the secrets of the meadows and woods, and drew about him by instinctive sympathy such as had an ear for the mysteries of the sea, or the forests, or the moss-coated rocks.

At the formation of the Essex County Natural History

Society in 1833, Mr. Russell was chosen Librarian and Cabinet Keeper; in 1836 he delivered the annual address before it; and in 1845 was elected its President, which office he held till by its union with the Essex Historical Society in 1848, the Essex Institute was formed, when Judge Daniel A. White, the senior of the two presidents of the societies merged in this, became the president of the new organization, and Mr. Russell its vice president; in which office he continued till 1861. During the greater part of this time, though not residing in Salem, Mr. Russell gave much important aid to this society, under its different names and organizations; and on his return to make this city his home in 1853, he came at once into direct and active connection with its work. At the "field meetings" held at short intervals in various parts of the county in the warm season, he was one of the most constant attendants and diligent explorers; and none contributed more largely than he to make them instructive and entertaining. For several years he was also a frequent lecturer and speaker upon his favorite theme before Normal Schools and other schools and institutions, and he was never more radiantly happy than when surrounded by young and eager minds thirsting for the knowledge he could impart. Attentive faces roused him to glowing enthusiasm and rapid speech; and many a listener dates the birth of a life-long interest in natural history or in scientific inquiry to his fascinating portrayal of nature's wonders—of the order and beauty and endless transformations and creations of her realm. He held a high place in the regard of men most instructed in the field of his chosen studies. The best botanists of the country ascribed to him, besides a general acquaintance with the New England flora, an extensive and accurate knowledge of the Cryptogamia in particular, and of lichens more

especially, in which department he ranked as an original worker and of the first class of amateur students. "He was an earnest naturalist," says Professor Edward Tuckerman, "who gave all his power to the explication of vegetable nature, and when he began, it was here in New England almost wholly neglected and unknown." "I always watched his career with interest," writes the accomplished scholar and joint-editor of the "New American Cyclopedia," George Ripley. . . . . "Of late years I knew him best by his contributions to the 'Cyclopedia.' They were of great value to the work, and an important element in the reputation which it has gained with scientific readers. In the revision in which we are now engaged I daily miss his aid and counsels."

In 1831 Mr. Russell became a member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; and in September, 1833, was chosen Professor of Botany and Horticultural Physiology in that institution, succeeding Dr. Malthus A. Ward, who had held the office since the formation of the society in 1829. Professor Russell filled the office until his death, nearly forty years.*

Mr. Russell maintained an extensive and interesting correspondence with naturalists at home and abroad, his opinion being often sought with deference by European botanists.

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*Professor Russell delivered the Annual Address before the Society in 1835; prepared the Report of the Transactions for the years 1837-8, with Preliminary Observations; Reports on Seeds from Prof. Fischer of the Botanic Garden at St. Petersburg; and on Seeds from the Exploring Expedition in Transactions of the Society, 1842-3, p. 52, Dec. 2, 1842; Report on Seeds from Prof. Fischer, June 7, 1845; Transactions for 1842-46, p. 82; Report on the Distribution of Seeds by the United States Patent Office, Transactions for 1858, p. 97; an attempt at a Report of the committee on the Robin, etc., Transactions for 1866, p. 75; Report on Seeds from Northern India, presented by Rev. C. H. A. Dall, Transactions for 1868, p. 93.

Those only knew Mr. Russell well who knew him long, in the freedom of familiar and friendly intercourse, and when the circle was small. It was truly said of him that "his private friendships were dearer to him than public applause." He was transparent; not difficult to know by reason of any reserves, but rather liable to be partially known, and easy to be misunderstood from the variety and extremely wide range of his moods, in all which he needed to be seen to be comprehended. Thus one early teacher and friend who knew him intimately held him too self-distrustful, and needing boldness. Others knew him, or thought they knew him, as bold to the point of recklessness. He was both. And whichever he was at any moment, he showed it, for he could not disguise it. He hated shams and knew not how to conceal himself. In some hours he seemed the farthest going reformer, and most unsparing iconoclast, to whom nothing was too sacred for plain speaking, instant judgment, irreverent questioning. In other hours he was the tenderly religious, reverent soul, charitable in the construction of human motives, and living, as it seemed, joyously at home with the God of nature and all the great human family. Sometimes he was silent and shut in, his manner not inviting approach, and he passed along the streets with scarce a nod of recognition. At other times he was sunny, warm with kindness, and inclined to linger for conversation, in which he was racy, instructive, delightful. It is not meant that he was amiable and cordial to his friends, shut and cool towards certain he did not like; for he was inaccessible to the friend when the silent and unsocial mood beset him, and withheld himself from none when his central love glowed again and thawed all the rigors away. He was so scornful of pedantry and pretence that he would seem sometimes for the moment to

set light by real learning and culture of deservedly high repute; and again he would honor with the heartiest applause genuine scholarship; and always showed a preference, other things being equal, for men who had had the training of the best schools, and especially for those bred at his own, the Cambridge University, over the miscalled "self-made" men, on many of whom his verdict would likelier have been, not-made men. He was both radical and conservative. What was peculiar was not that he was sometimes the one and sometimes the other, for most of us are by turns of a conservative and of a revolutionary spirit, but that he went so far and so unreservedly each way for the time. He swung through such a wide space in his oscillations, as startled men of a colder and more cautious temperament, and puzzled their judgment. The consistency and unity that was in him was not outward, and did not lead to explanations and the balancing of phrases. It was deeper; in his nature; where he took in and assimilated the seemingly adverse and contradictory. So he did not explain often when expected to; did not see that there was need. He saw at each moment his one thought, vividly, with his whole concentrated attention, and uttered it. Why should he stop to remember at the moment whether there were not other things also that he thought true? Doubtless. But he could not stop; the momentum was too great. He was too full of *that*. And on he went, like the brimful river, which cannot dally with its banks, but is driven forward by force of its own weighty tide. It was not strange that some knew him only as a radical of the radicals; for sometimes he was that. He was that in the utter freedom of his mind, and of his speculations. Nevertheless he destroyed only that he might build the better. He struck at what appeared to him error only

for the sake of truth. In terms he often misrepresented his own thought, to those who judged him by what he said at one hearing, and said extemporaneously. His thought was a feeling as well as a thought; a burning conviction; opposition only intensified its expression. Spontaneous, impetuous, unguarded, he neglected to state qualifications which were always a part of his mind, and which to one conversing with him privately and leisurely he would not fail to produce. This caused him often to be misunderstood. Tell him his own words, sometimes, and he would not recognize them. In his mind they had been joined with complementing truths which balanced and adjusted them, and which he felt that he must have stated or implied, but which he had only expressed on other occasions. He was called a "hard-hitter" in the field of theological controversy; and he was. Still he was no sectarian. The lovers of God and man, the people of sincere faith, those who made it the test of pure religion and undefiled before God to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world—these he took to his large heart with all the wealth of its trust and love. And there he cherished them, not caring by what name they were called. If they brought forward their sectarian passwords, or if in any manner these came in his way, he was very likely to visit on *them* his trenchant scorn; but he sincerely loved many people who used them and held them to be important. His spontaneousness and warmth gave expression to his prejudices equally strong and unguarded with the language in which his philanthropy found utterance, and equally laid him open to misconstruction at times. He was an earnest and uncompromising opponent of American slavery, at a time when slavery had many and powerful apologists in the northern states. He spoke out in hearty and ringing words against its wrong, and in

favor of freedom. The form of his plea was comprehensive, taking in all humanity. But he had his dislikes. There were traits in the Irish character which roiled him. And sometimes, in his fashion of seizing a point and pushing it to an extreme, he bore hardly on the people of that race, not stopping to say that it was their faults which he had presently in mind, and that there had been untoward circumstances in their history that should be had in mind in mitigation of a sweeping condemnation. And this seemed an inconsistency by the side of his good words for humanity, for all men without distinction of race or color. But when others condemned the same people too unsparingly, *he* adduced the mitigating circumstances.

It was truthfully said of him: "His was one of those rare minds which loved truth and justice for its own sake, and he was always ready to brave the loss of fame or friends in behalf of what he deemed right. . . . Did he but imagine any one was being trodden on who deserved a better fate, he was ready to enter the lists in his behalf at any cost. Often in these cases he could see only the injustice at the moment; but after the struggle was over, and he was alone or with intimates, the moisture would rise to his eyes in the fear that in the contest he might have hurt the feelings of those opposed to him." The writer illustrates the last point by an incident. "An article had recently appeared in high scientific quarters, which was unfortunately inaccurate in its statements. In his paralyzed condition he wrote, pointing out the errors, but he added, 'in times past he has been at my house and partaken of my hospitalities, and I would, under no circumstances, say anything to hurt his feelings; but in the interest of truth and science you can do it at some time without offence to any one.'"*

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*The Gardener's Monthly for July, 1873: Philadelphia; p. 214.

I have written with freedom and unreserve of my friend. He was one of those whose character would bear it, while his own truthfulness and unreserve invited it. He preferred truth to compliment. There is no need to be timid and careful in speaking of one who was so much a man. To conceal or evade in speaking of him would be an offence against what was most characteristic in him, his sincerity and truthfulness of speech. His was one of those strong and capacious natures that hold the contents of two or three ordinary men, and combine such qualities as would be thought ordinarily to exclude each other. Men less intense than he, and of a more equable temperament, would have escaped strictures which he drew on himself at times; and so would they have failed to make the deep and lasting impression for good which he often made by his impetuous enthusiasm and almost passionate warmth of feeling and expression, in behalf of unrecognized truths. As his life wore on, however, and especially as the years of sickness fell upon him, the contrasted colors in his character blended and mellowed each other, and enhanced the sweetness and grace of his autumnal ripeness. He was always a lover of beauty—everywhere and of all kinds. Beautiful flowers, graceful ferns, such beauties as lay thick in his own chosen path—these of course, but not these alone. He felt the charm in all Nature's creations, animate and inanimate; the beauty of childhood; the beauty of young men and maidens; the holier beauty of truth, and moral strength and courage, the graciousness of goodness. He came at times as near reaching eloquence—that rare and subtile power impossible of definition—as almost any one I ever listened to. And the themes which kindled him most sympathetically and surely were those which lie about the fountains of worship, religious inspirations and moral integrity and order:—the universal care and tender

love of the divine providence, as witnessed in nature, in life, in history:—human rights; the freedom of every man to be himself, to think, judge, worship, unhindered. That way of his, of putting his whole glowing soul into the things he said; of forgetting himself; yielding himself up to the grand inspirations of truth, righteousness, and freedom — it was a deepening stream, gathering volume and tide as it went, until it swept him and his hearers along, seemingly, whithersoever it would.

His affections were deep and strong; and in his friendships he was close and fast. They had their full expression only when the sympathy was genuine and the confidence without alloy. And the love and friendship which he inspired grew to be like his own, tender and true. It is not permitted me to invade the privacy and sanctuary of his innermost communion with those he loved, but it will be deemed no trespass upon that seclusion, I trust, to make simple mention of the gentle affectionateness that breathed from his lips, beamed from his face, shone even through his veiled and half-blinded eyes, and ran through his messages of friendship, and filled up the hours, as his earthly life faded into that unseen realm which seemed as real and present, as familiar, natural and home-like to his thought, as the plans and expectations of to-morrow. When asked what reply should be made to a letter just received from a dear friend, he said:—"Write, Love and Friendship; then turn over and write on the next page, Love and Friendship; then on the next write, Love and Friendship;" like John in his old age, who, when too feeble to walk to the Christians' place of assembly, asked to be carried thither only to repeat each time, "My children, love one another."

During his last illness he was overfull of this sensibility. Reminiscences of past friendships revived with fresh tenderness and force. His playfulness was thought-

ful, his thoughtfulness playful, after the manner of his robust years; and through all there ran a vein of personal caressing and fondness when he spoke to his friends, or dictated words to be sent to them, which told how he held them to his heart.

To two old and dear friends he wrote soon after the new year:—

"Wasn't it a curious coincidence that I should have been busily engaged in trying to puzzle out some of the Dutch lingo of Van Sterbeeck's 'Theatrum Fungorum,' the gift of you, dear ———, at the time when your mutual gift of fruit and New Year's gratulations was in the expressman's care on its way to me? I wonder if there is such a book as a Dutch dictionary (Holland and English, or Dutch and French), for I am bound to read Sterbeeck, and to get all the good I can out of him. But, poor fellow, his effigy, on p. 35, looks as sober as I do most of my time; but, *sub Dio*—or Divine Providence, as you will—I am pretty well for a recluse, shut up in the house all the time. Your timely and very generous gift made me *cry* just a little bit, reminding me of you both, and of all the delicious memories of the olden time, when I used to know you so well, and many others who are in the great mysterious unknown, and who come to me in my dreams, and revive the days of youthful friendship in the old colony and elsewhere. What a strange, incomprehensible thing is this life, and what is it all for? God grant that I may wait and trust, for that is all I can do. But what treasures of love and of wisdom too have come to me in my sick chamber, and in the weary days and nights! Two things would I ask of God, viz.: health and the power and desire to love. There is no gift of love so trifling as to be insignificant, nor a breath of health which is not a magnificent fact of Providence. . . . . I have a few friends with whom I talk of the probabilities of mutual recognition in the Hereafter, and of a closer friendship than can exist here. I hope I shall always know and love you both.

With much effort to write you this scrawl, and wishing you a happy new year, I am" ———.

Among children he was a child; and towards those whom he had known in childhood he delighted to maintain afterwards the easy freedom and familiarity of tone suitable to an elder brother, or companion-father, even after they had arrived at the years of manhood and womanhood. Such he rarely addressed by other than their christian names. Indeed, he loved to borrow this *Friendly* style in his intercourse with all whom he took into his confidence and intimacy. He loved to continue the use of the terms and forms of endearment, of pet names, and words of pleasant associations, first adopted in his joyous talk and companionship with children, and which he never after outgrew or laid aside.

A week only before he died he dictated the following characteristic letter to one who had long held a place close to his heart.

"My Dear Little M.:—Although I am on my bed, my thoughts are a great way off with you. How I wish you could come and sit by the side of your dear old 'lunky Jack,'* and we would talk about the old times when you used to ride on my shoulder, and when you were so much comfort to me; and though we are so far apart, yet thought can travel faster than railroad speed, and I can imagine that I am sitting beside my little M., and holding her hand, and her poor old 'lunky' is walking with her, looking after the little flowers and thinking of the good times we used to have together, which, if they never come back to us, we can remember with great delight and pleasure. And may my dear little M. become the dear friend, the upright and noble woman, a delight to all who know her, patient with the weak, instructing the ignorant, helping the poor to bear their lot in life,

* His pet name when M. was a child.

the sick to be patient and cheerful, the unfortunate to be full of hope and courage, the weary and broken-hearted to trust in God's love, the poor little destitute children to gain friends.

I am sick and faint in body, but strong in heart, never for a moment suffering myself to doubt the wisdom of God as shown to us in his constant providence, which makes us brave in life's duties, and trusting and hopeful to the end. . . . .

Remembering with pleasure the many happy hours I have spent with you, may your life, dear M., be full of happy recollections and bright anticipations, till in serene faith you pass to a more glorious life, where everything shall be tending to the perfection of all that is glorious in your nature. Your own LUNKY JACK."

In the foregoing letter he seems to be flitting between the present with its recollections, and that past to which he transports himself with such a vivid realization of it, that it seems to displace for the moment the present, and to become itself the present to his consciousness. I shall place before the reader extracts from one more similar letter, written about three months earlier, but when he was in very feeble health.

"SALEM, Feb. 23, 1873.

MY DEAR ———

When this reaches you spring will have commenced, and March winds, even if not zephyrs, will have awakened some of the sleeping flowers of the western prairies, while we shall be still among the snow-drifts of tardy departing winter. As I have not learned to fly yet I shall not be able to ramble with you after the pasque flower, or anemone, nor find the *Erythronium albidum*, nor the tiny spring beauty, nor detect the minute green mosses which will so soon be rising out of the ground. But I can sit by the Stewart's Coal Burner in our sitting room and imagine the daily changes which will usher in a milder spell of weather, and remind C. of ploughing and sowing and such occupations. Or I can recall the days when you were one of us, and when we gathered Andromeda buds

from the frozen bushes and traversed the ice-covered bay securely in the bright sunshine of the winter's day.

I often long, dear S., for a return of those Arcadian days; . . . . . Sickness is no pleasure; and ennui and fatigue must come with it; but it is a blessed minister and teacher! It tells us of the excellence of health, and of the value of the slightest instance of love and regard. . . . . As I grow older—now threescore and nearly ten—every year as it comes in regular order interests me all the more in his [God's] works and ways. Every little flower I meet with, and that I never saw before, every little insect which is a novelty—or as the naturalist would say is a new species to me—the constantly occurring microscopical forms of organized matter, the strange and veritable laws of the atmosphere, the clouds passing over the disk of the sun, and bringing to us storms and aerial phenomena, the ever-increasing discoveries of science and of art, awaken my admiration, heighten my awe, and lead me to adoring trust. How different, too, appear what narrow-minded men call religion, and the essentials of religious life, as I find good in everybody, and as I learn to draw nearer to my fellow beings in harmony with what is best in them. . . . .

I will not trouble you to write to me, but I should like a spring flower which you gather; any one will be precious from you to your feeble and sick

Old uncle and friend, J. L. R."

Our friend has drawn the lines of his own portrait truer than we could do it, and we leave it, as his own trembling fingers touched it, unconsciously, and left it at the last, radiant with trust and love.

"Contemplate all this work of Time,

. . . . . .

Nor dream of human love and truth
As dying Nature's earth and lime;

But trust that those we call the dead
Are breathers of an ampler day
For ever nobler ends." . . .

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOHN CLEAVELAND,

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON,

NEHEMIAH CLEAVELAND.

Continued from page 103.

July 2. (Sabb.) Mr. Forbush preached from Exod. 17, where Moses sends Joshua to fight against Amalek, an appropriate and good discourse. In the aft. J. C. preached, Mr. Spinner, chaplain of the New York provincials and brother E. C. were present. The attention very good. J. C. calls on Mr. Woodbridge,[1] chaplain in the reg. of Col. Wm. Williams,—Mr. W. being sick. "There seems to be an excellent set of chaplains in the camp."

3. Prayers very early, as the reg^{t} is to be reviewed by the General at 7 A. M. J. C. takes his brother with him and calls on John Brainard,[2] chaplain of Col. Johnston's New Jersey reg^{t}, and also on Mr. Spencer, chaplain of the New York regiments. In the afternoon, the two

[1] Probably JOHN WOODBRIDGE, minister of South Hadley, who d. 1763, æt. 80. He was a descendant in the 4th generation from a dau. of Gov. Thos. Dudley, and from that famous John Woodbridge, who was Parker's assistant at Newbury, then the first minister of Andover, and afterwards a civil magistrate. There have been at least ten John Woodbridges in the New England pulpit.

[2] JOHN BRAINARD was a brother of the famous missionary, David B. and both had been members of College at the same time with the Journalist. John Brainard grad. in 1746. He toiled for a time among the New Jersey Indians. He lived awhile at Great Egg Harbor, and afterwards at Brotherton. He was a trustee of the College at Princeton, and died about 1780.

Cleavelands with Brainard and Spencer visit the quarters of the Connecticut troops, and call on their chaplains, viz.: Beckwith, Eels, Denison, and Ingersoll. All agree to make a call the next day on his Excellency, General Abercrombie.[3] They also resolve to have meetings for prayer at stated seasons: the Connecticut chaplains to meet by themselves, and the Boston, New York and New Jersey chaplains by themselves; this arrangement being dictated by their respective positions.

4. After prayers and breakfast, Messrs. Beckwith Eels, Pomeroy,[4] Ingersoll, Brainard, Forbush, Spencer, and the two Cleavelands paid their compliments to the General in his tent. Mr. Beckwith was their spokesman. "He," the General, "treated us very kindly, told us he hoped that we would teach the people their duty and to be courageous." He added that in Germany he had known a chaplain who nerved his men for the impending

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[3] JAMES ABERCROMBIE was a native of Scotland. He early entered the army and served for some time on the continent. In 1756 he came to America as commander-in-chief. Of all the officers sent by England to America during the old French war, no other seems to have left a record so poor, as that of James Abercrombie; for Braddock was brave though rash and unfortunate. After his miserable failure at Ticonderoga, Abercrombie went home, and as a member of Parliament gave his support to those arbitrary measures which finally drove the colonies into independence. He was deputy governor of Sterling Castle, when, in 1781, he died at the age of 75.

[4] BENJAMIN POMEROY was the minister of Hebron, Conn., where he d. 1784, æt. 80. He graduated at Yale in 1733. Like so many others, he took fire under the wonderful preaching of Whitefield, and his zeal, ability and boldness soon brought him into trouble. For ministering in disregard of Connecticut law, he was arrested and for several years deprived of his small annual stipend. Dr. Pomeroy is described as witty and polite, — frank and generous — "an excellent scholar, an exemplary gentleman, and a thundering preacher." Instead of being silenced, such a man, nowadays, might choose his pulpit, and name his salary.

fight, by informing them that cowards would find no place in heaven. Then they were treated to a bowl of punch and a bottle of wine.

In the afternoon, the chaplains held their first meeting "under Col. Ruggles' bower." The exercises were a prayer by Mr. Morrill—then a psalm; a prayer by Mr. Brainard,—another psalm,—a word of exhortation and the benediction by J. C.

The troops rec^{d} orders to strike their tents at daybreak next morning and to be on board the batteaux by Five A.M.

5. (Wednesday) The "general" was beat at daybreak —the tents were struck immediately,—everything was packed and put on board—and by 5 o'cl. the men were all embarked. The Rangers were in front; the Regulars in the centre—Colonels Preble, Ruggles, Bagley, Williams, etc., on the right—General Lyman, Colonels Whiting, Fitch,[5] etc., on the left. In the rear of the main body was the artillery, and Col. Partridge with the Royal Hunters in the rear of all.

After rowing more than twenty miles, they were ordered to land on the west shore and pitch their tents. At eleven in the evening they reëmbarked and rowed for the Narrows—Col. Preble leading the van of the right wing.

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[5] Eleazer Fitch of Lebanon was a grandson of the famous James Fitch, who was the first minister of Saybrook and of Norwich. He commanded the Fourth Connecticut Regiment in three campaigns, 1758 to 1760. This long association with officers of the British army had some influence, it was thought, on his political opinions and subsequent conduct. When the struggle with the mother country came, he adhered to the royal side, and soon found it convenient to seek another home. His last years were spent at St. Johns in New Brunswick. His four daughters, however, having married patriots, remained true to the cause of liberty.

6. It was daylight when they reached the entrance of the Narrows. After waiting till all the regiments had come up and found each its own place, they were ordered to row up and land. A warm reception was expected. But the French, though they had on the ground four battalions and several cannon, fired only a few shots, which did no harm, and then withdrew. By nine o'clock the troops were all safely landed. The French having burnt the bridges in their retreat, our army was compelled to take a circuitous route, leading through thick woods. They had gone but two miles when they were assailed in front by three thousand French and Indians. Col. Bagley's Regiment was ordered to charge the enemy on the right. The brisk engagement lasted about an hour. "My Lord Howe[6] was killed, and about twenty-four of our men were

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[6] Lord George Augustus Howe was the third viscount of that name. He was thirty-two years old when he came in 1757 to America with five thousand British troops, landing at Halifax. He had hardly joined Abercrombie's army, when it moved on Ticonderoga, and he fell, as above stated in the first conflict. During the few months which he thus passed upon American soil, he endeared himself to all. Uniformly kind and courteous, he was also ardent, energetic, and judicious. He evidently possessed in unusual measure those magnetic qualities which attract mankind—filling them with trust and hope. Those sturdy Yankees who constituted so important a part of the army at Lake George, were keen observers, and shrewd judges of intellect and character. They could not avoid the conviction that Abercrombie was sluggish, timid, and incompetent. In the marked contrast presented by Howe, they saw, as they believed, the future leader of the army, and the savior of his country. And hence they mourned his untimely fall as a great public calamity. Hence the colony of Massachusetts Bay—poor as she was—appropriated five hundred pounds sterling, to erect a monument for him in Westminster Abbey. Let no American, who visits that grand repository of the mighty dead pass it coldly by!

On the death of Lord George, the title descended to his brother Richard, who became an Earl, and whose position and action as commander of a powerful British fleet, and as a commissioner to

missing" after the skirmish. Of the enemy one hundred fifty-nine were made prisoners, and probably as many more were killed.

7. (Friday.) This morning, the sun being an hour high, the troops were again in motion, with intent to replace the burnt bridges, to move by the wagon-road, and get possession of the saw mills, where the enemy was in some force. A little after sunset, General Johnson[7] arrived at the landing with his regiment. He had a body

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treat with the fractious colonists for peace, gave him great prominence in the first years of the revolutionary war. John Adams (see works of J. A., vol. iii) informs us that when he went in 1776, with Franklin and Rutledge, to have a talk with the British commissioner on Staten Island — "Lord Howe was profuse in his expressions of gratitude to the State of Massachusetts for erecting a marble monument in Westminster Abbey, to his elder brother, Lord Howe — saying he esteemed that honor to his family above all things in the world." Sir William Howe was also a brother of Lord George. It was he who succeeded Gen. Gage in command at Boston — who in 1776, took possession of New York — commanded in 1777 the British army in the battle of Germantown and in 1778, was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton.

[7] Often as the story of SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON has been told, it can never lose its interest. Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, gave him birth. Being a younger son, he was brought up for a merchant. Falling in love and being thwarted, he readily accepted a proposal from his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, to take charge of a large landed property in America. Accordingly, in 1738, he settled on the south side of the Mohawk river, twenty miles from Schenectady. Here he entered on a course of improvement which soon brought in settlers. With the Indians he traded on a large scale, and always treated them well. He learned to speak their language in several of its dialects; made himself familiar with their peculiar habits, beliefs, and customs, and acquired an immense influence over them. When the French war began — that is in 1743 — Mr. Johnson, as general superintendent of the Indian tribes, was charged with the protection of the western frontier, and for five years he kept all safe on that side. In 1750 he was placed on the provincial council. In 1753 he held a council with the Indians at Onondaga, and succeeded in healing a breach that had begun. Two years later he was commissioned by Gen. Braddock as superintendent of the "Six Nations." In 1755, as

of Indians—how many J. C. could not learn. That night the chaplain passed in the boat, "and lay very hard upon the barrels."

8. (Saturday.) Before sunrise Johnson set out with

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general of the New York provincials, he joined in the expedition against Crown Point. After the defeat of Col. Williams's detachment, Johnson was himself attacked in his camp near Lake George. The French were repulsed, and their commander, Baron Dieskau, was captured. For this victory, Johnson, who was wounded in the fight, was made a baronet, and received from Parliament a gift of five thousand pounds.

The entry in Mr. Cleaveland's journal, for July 7, states that Gen. Johnson, with his regiment, arrived at the landing a little after sunset, and (July 8) he says that "Johnson, before sunrise, set out with his Indians to join the army." His light armed troops who carried their birchen shells on their shoulders, perhaps embarked at some other point on the lake. Clearly, they formed no part of Abercrombie's grand flotilla. If they had a share in the fight and defeat, no mention of it appears in the Journal. Neither are they again mentioned, from which it may safely be inferred that they formed no part of the British and provincial encampment at Lake George.

In 1759 Johnson was again in command of a provincial force, and went with Gen. Prideaux against Niagara. In the attack Prideaux was killed, and Johnson took the command and soon brought the garrison to terms. This was a very important capture. Again, in 1760, the year of final conquest, Sir William was with the victorious English at the head of a thousand Indian warriors.

At his home in Johnstown Sir William maintained a state of rude, feudal hospitality and display. With a host of guests and retainers, of every clime and hue, and with a domestic establishment which shocked the moral sense not only of puritans but of Dutchmen,—he must have seemed to his travelled visitors the impersonation, now of some Hibernian noble, and now of some oriental Sheik.

There is abundant evidence that he was a man of ready and effective eloquence, and of large capacity for affairs, both civil and military. At a time when the Indian tribes were still numerous and powerful—not only around but within the British Colonies—and when wily Frenchmen spared no pains in instigating those cruel foes to acts of hostility, Johnson's vast influence and judicious action must have been of inestimable value to the country.

He died just a year before the war with England began—in good time both for himself and for America—as in that contest he would undoubtedly have sided with the mother country.

his Indians to join the army. There "has been a most bloody fight. Our troops attempted to force the French intrenchment before the Fort, with small arms, and met with very great loss. Our men acted with the greatest intrepidity, and one or two companies of the Highlanders and Regulars were almost entirely cut off. Many were slain, and many came in wounded; the number not yet known, though it is conjectured that a thousand are among the killed and wounded. Capt. Whipple rec^{d} a ball in his thigh wh. lodged there. Lieut. Burnham rec^{d} a mortal wound in his bowels, and Lieut. Low was slain, as we suppose.[8] The conduct is thought to be marvellous strange, to order the intrenchment to be forced with small arms, when they (we) had cannon not far off, and number sufficient to keep the enemy off, till we had entrenched and placed our cannon and bomb-mortars so as to play upon the enemy. Most of our forces retreated towards the landing where the battoes lay."

9. Sabb. "This morning, to the general surprise of the whole army we were ordered to embark in the battoes, to leave the ground we had possessed, and return to Fort William Henry. We left the ground about 9 o'cl. in the morning, and arrived at Fort William Henry, full forty miles, before sunset: all dejected, partly on

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[8]Low and Burnham were from Chebacco, and, of course, were Mr. Cleaveland's parishioners. That the patriotic and military spirit which animated these martyrs of more than a hundred years ago has not died out among the Lows and Burnhams of that brave old Chebacco, may be safely inferred from the fact that among the one hundred and five men belonging to that precinct who are known to have been in the army during the revolutionary war, there were five Lows and twenty-two Burnhams; and furthermore, that of one hundred and forty-five Essex men who enlisted in their country's service during the war of rebellion, four had the name of Low and thirty-two the name of Burnham.

account of our returning, and partly on account of our being without much food for three days. This evening, Lieut Burnham was buried, having died upon the water, of his wound. I understand he inquired much for me, and desired to see me before he died. But I was in another battoe and could not be found, the Lake being full of them."

10. (Monday.) "This morning orders were given out to make a return of the killed, wounded and missing, which, according to the information which I have had, amount to eighteen or twenty hundred in the whole army — principally among the Regulars and Highlanders. In Col. Bagley's regiment six were killed—two officers and four privates. Capt. Whipple and ten privates were wounded. This day wherever I went I found people—officers and soldiers—astonished that we left the French ground, and commenting on the strange conduct in coming off."

11. (Tues.) J. C. writes to his wife, the letter to go by Mr. Thompson. The whaleboats and battoes are unloaded. People begin to sicken, partly, perhaps, from their late privation of food and use of the Lake waters, and partly "from dejection and discouragement arising from disappointment."

12. He writes to Col Choate.[9] He has some trouble

[9] JOHN CHOATE, born 1697, was a brother of Francis, already mentioned. On his marriage he settled near the village of Ipswich, and soon became the leading citizen of the town. For many years before his death he was among the prominent men not only of the county but of the colony. As a civil magistrate, Judge of the Common Pleas, Judge of Probate, and representative in the General Court, he was constantly, ably and usefully employed. In the great "Land-Bank" question he took a very active part. In regarding the proposed institution, not only as likely to be beneficial to the country, but as absolutely necessary to relieve it from the evils of a vicious currency, he did not stand alone. But Gov. Belcher set his face

in his bowels, and fears an attack of the "camp disorder." He and Mr. Forbush read together and converse. "Towards evening, the General, with his Rehoboam counsellors came over to line-out a Fort on y^e^ Bokey Hill, where our breastwork was last year. Now we begin to think strongly that the grand expedition against Canada is laid aside, and a foundation is going to be made totally to impoverish our country."

13. (Thursday.) His disorder increases. At six this morning, Bagley's reg^t^, not having breakfasted, was ordered to strike their tents, and move with all their bag-

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against it, and in those days a Governor was a man of power. In May, 1741, he dissolved the House because they had chosen for speaker and for councilmen, persons who were in favor of the Bank. A new House met in July and placed John Choate in the speaker's chair. For the same sufficient reason, their choice was set aside by the executive power. In this hard-fought contest the Governor, aided by Parliament, finally prevailed, and the Land Bank Company was dissolved.

In 1745, Capt. Choate obtained leave of absence from his seat, to go with Gen. Pepperell to Cape Breton. In that brilliant enterprise he commanded the eighth Massachusetts regiment, and, by appointment of the Commander, acted as Judge Advocate General. At a later period he was sent to Albany — one of three commissioners to treat with the Six Nations.

Col. Choate was a religious man of strong convictions and very decided opinions, which he did not hesitate to assert, and knew how to defend. To plan and build the stone bridge in Ipswich, which still bears his name, was among the last acts of his life. In America, at least in our part of it, the idea of an arched bridge of stone was at that time an absolute novelty, and to Col. Choate's honest neighbors seemed the very height of absurdity. At the outset of the work, and during its entire progress, the encouragement which he received was near akin to that which cheered and strengthened the first great shipwright on record. The success was complete, and the scoffers in this case were not drowned.

Col. Choate left no children, having lost several in their infancy by one of those epidemic and malignant diseases of the throat which were fatally frequent in New England a century ago. This truly great man died in 1766.

gage to a spot over and beyond Fort Wm. Henry;—having got there, they were ordered farther—and then still farther—and finally, to move back to the place which they left. By this time it was two hours after noon. Several of the men fell from sheer exhaustion. No wonder that Bagley's men that day felt "extremely worried and fretted."

14. (Friday.) Mr. Emerson[10]—"a right down, hearty christian minister, of savory conversation," takes his breakfast in J. C.'s tent and joins in its devotions. J. C. under the pressure of his disorder, "feels dull and heavy, but not discouraged."

15. (Sat.) Three deserters came in from Ticonderoga,

[10] This was the Rev. Daniel Emerson, who, having graduated at Cambridge in 1739, became in 1743, the minister of Hollis in New Hampshire. Under the wonderful oratory and contagious earnestness of Whitefield he soon after came out an ardent preacher of the "New Light" school. But time and sober experience are the natural cure of over-heated zeal, and Mr. E. in later years seems to have settled down into a substantial and widely useful minister. He was not only, long the recognized leader of New Hampshire Congregationalism, but did good service as a teacher of youth. One, at least, of his pupils rose to renown, not without a grateful remembrance of the man who fitted him for College. This was Jeremiah Smith, judge and governor of New Hampshire. Mr. Emerson's first military service was in 1755, as chaplain of a N. H. regiment, commanded by Col. Joseph Blanchard. That he and Mr. Cleaveland should take kindly to one another was perfectly natural. They were alike in ardor of temperament, as well as in activity of mind and character. Harmonious in their opinions, they could also speak of similar experiences, as they had both encountered no little obloquy in their early ministry. Often too had they both hung with admiring rapture on the lips of one whose melting pathos and all-subduing energy as an orator of the pulpit and of the stump have probably never been equalled. It is not difficult to conceive the themes which filled the minds and warmed the hearts of these Christian Soldiers as they sat before the camp fire—walked arm in arm around the fortified lines—and wandered and chatted along the wooded shore of the loveliest of lakes.

who say there were only 3500 men in the intrenchment at the time of our attack. Their design, in case of being driven out, was to take the whale boats, which were in readiness, lay Crown Point in ashes, and then go to Chambly, and make a stand till relief should come from Canada. "Our return saved them a deal of trouble."

16. (Sabb.) J. C. preaches to his Regiment, many of whom were absent from sickness. He was "considerably straitened" in the morning, but had "more enlargement" in the afternoon. After that, he heard "a very good sermon" on the Centurion, Cornelius, from the Church of England minister, Mr. Ogilvie.

17. (Monday.) A general change in the position of the regiments. Bagley's pitches tents on the ground where Col. Titcomb[11] was killed, and proceeds to make a breast work. J. C. to-day has much pain in his limbs, feels very dull, and something low in spirits.

18. (Tues.) Not entirely well, but greatly relieved. An order comes to build a vessel for the protection of the Lake. At Stillwater, on the east side, two men were killed and scalped to day. J. C. and eight others go on the lake to fish. They caught five. Preparations for building the vessel.

20. An ejaculatory petition for himself, still unwell—

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[11] Col. Moses Titcomb was of Newbury, and his regiment in the battle of Lake George, 1755, occupied the extreme right of Johnson's line. Standing behind a large pine which stood near the breastwork, he gave orders to his men as they lay along the ground. While in this position he was shot by Indians, who had crept up in the rear. Another officer—Lieut. Baron, who had taken the same shelter was killed at the same time. His pastor, the Rev. John Lowell, some of whose descendants have filled and still fill a large space in the public eye, preached to Col. Titcomb and his men when about to leave for the war,—and again preached when his death was known. Both sermons were published.

for his family, and for his flock. Many working parties out to-day. Col. Bagley has just heard from Half-way-brook, that last night ten men, on their way to Ft. George, as an escort, were cut off when only two miles from their stockade. One only escaped. On his arrival, the commander, Col. Nichols, sent out 200 men—who were repulsed and chased by the enemy to within 150 yards of their Fort. Three captains, Daken, Jones and Lawrence; two Lieutenants, Godfrey and Curtis; Ensign Davis and ten privates, were lost from this party. "A sore stroke, this."

21. (Friday.) With brother E. C. he calls on Mr. Pomroy and also on their brother, Aaron Cleaveland.[12] Capt. Fuller just returned from Half-way-Brook, reports that they have found and buried eighteen who were killed in the late engagement, that two were wounded and fourteen are still missing. He says that the officers did their duty but the men were cowardly. Another witness from Half-way-Brook, Lt. Hutchins, says there were 20 killed or mortally wounded, and that five only of the *first* ten are now missing.

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[12] AARON CLEAVELAND was a respectable farmer of Canterbury, Conn., where he lived on the old homestead. I think he was a subaltern officer in the campaign of 1758. As early as 1774 he commanded the Canterbury company, which in the following year he led to Cambridge at the call of Gen. Putnam. He was afterwards a colonel of the state militia, and died 1785, aged 57. His son, Moses, entered Yale College just before the war began—left, for a time, to take part in the conflict, in which he served as captain of miners and engineers—then returned and graduated in 1777. He settled as a lawyer in his native town, and was energetic and successful. In 1796 he went as commissioner from Connecticut to look after her interests in northwestern Ohio. The now prosperous city of Cleveland stands upon the site which he selected, and from him derives its name. Gen. Moses Cleaveland died in 1806, aged 52. William Pitt Cleaveland, another son of Col. Aaron Cleaveland, was favorably known as a lawyer and judge. He lived in New London.

22. Sat. "This morning Jon[a] Marshall of Chebacco broke out with the small pox." He was sent to the Hospital at Ft. Edward. At ten this morning there was a meeting of all the provincial chaplains now at the Lake. After the exercises they agreed to meet for prayer every Tuesday and Friday, at 10 A. M. This evening, Col. Schuyler[13] and Mr. Clark, who had been captured at Oswego by the French, and who had come home on their parole, set off from here with Flag of Truce consisting of twenty-one, and also with a Frenchman, who had been taken by us in 1755. It was the purpose of Schuyler and Clark to give themselves up to the French at Ticonderoga. A letter from Mary Cleaveland informs her husband (J. C.) that her brother, Nehemiah Dodge is "near the gates of death." At the same time, says J. C., I "received a letter from my good and cordial friend, Mr. William Story,[14] of Boston."

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[13] This was PETER SCHUYLER, of New Jersey. Col. Schuyler had been made prisoner by the French, and had been set free on his parole. But when the capitulation of Fort William Henry was declared null by the British, Montcalm sent orders for Schuyler to return. He went back, but, as this Journal shows, was not long detained. In 1759 he was again in active service, at the head of the regiment which he had long commanded, that well-disciplined and famous corps, the "Jersey Blues." He died at his home on the Passaic, near Newark, in 1762, "leaving a high character for bravery and chivalrous honor."

[14] The Storys, of Chebacco, were among its oldest and best families. WILLIAM STORY, between whom and J. C. there existed an almost fraternal affection, had settled as a man of business in Boston. In the "separatist" society of School street, he was the leading man, and in May, 1746, he, as a delegate from that church, went with Mr. Cleaveland to organize the new society in Chebacco. Two years later, he and others, in consequence of a disagreement with Mr. Cresswell, formed another "Separate" society, in Boston. A council, of which Mr. J. C. was scribe, met at the house of Mr. Story, and ordained Ephraim Clark pastor of the new church. Letters of William Story still preserved, and written in a clear and beautiful hand, and well expressed, indicate a degree of culture beyond the average of that time.

"23. Sabb. This forenoon preached with some freedom from Mal. 1, 6, a son honoreth his father and a servant his master, &c.,[15] the people (gave) good attention and many of the regulars attended, O that God would set the truths of the gospel home upon the hearts of all, and that my heart may be encouraged and my hands strengthened in the work of God. — preached again in the afternoon from the same words ( ) to a more numerous auditory, consisting not only of my own regiment" (but also) "of regulars and highlanders; received a letter from my dear friend Rufus Lothrop — also heard my classmate commissy Lyman is dead and buried at Albany."[16]

24. (Mond.) The reverend brothers C. take a walk to-day. In the first place, they go around the entire encampment, with careful inspection, and come to the conclusion that it is strong enough to withstand twenty or thirty thousand men, who attack only with small arms. Then they walk along the border of the Lake and glance at the new vessel on the stocks, which they seem to have regarded as the predestined victim of fire, or of water.

25. (Tues.) One of the Regulars was hanged this morning. His crime was stealing. He confessed on the ladder that he had led a very bad life, and warned his fellow soldiers not to follow his poor example.

The Chaplains meet in Emerson's tent. Eels and Pomroy pray. At ½ past Two, P. M. the Flag of Truce which went down the Lake with Col. Schuyler, returned,

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[15] One Joseph Ilsley, of Newbury, was out in 1758, as second lieut. of Capt. Joseph Newhall's company, in Col. Bagley's regiment. In the brief record which he kept, and which has been sent to me by a friend, I find this entry: — "July 23, 1758, sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Cleveland, our chaplain, Malachi i, 6 verse — all day same text." There are similar entries for Aug. 6 and 27, and for Sept. 3.

[16] We have evidence that Rufus Lathrop was living in Norwich as late as 1794, and was still kindly remembered by the friend of his youth. The "classmate and commissary" was Elihu Lyman.

having left the Colonel behind. "I understand that the French have got a camp at the place where we landed, or rather, where our advance guard was, and another camp at the Mills."

26. (Wed.) In the morning J. C. calls on all his brother chaplains. His own brothers Eben and Aaron spend the afternoon with him. He puts up a short prayer.

27. (Thurs.) Though it is rainy, all the regiments are ordered to parade for a review by the General at 9 o'clock. Three men of Col. Williams' regt died last night. Alarm guns were heard this forenoon—fired, it appears, at Half-way-Brook, and caused by Indians who were seen at Fort Ann. "Lieut. Elves of the h. h." (Highlanders?) "told in my hearing this day, his solid opinion was that the reason why the General ordered the retreat from Ticonderoga, was his hearkening to boys who never saw a Fight and neglecting to ask counsel of knowing officers, and that it was fact he never did ask counsel of any one experienced officer in the army."

28. (Friday.) The chaplain dreams. In sleep he saw his wife—the meeting at first was joyous—but soon she began to censure him—so he took his staff and was making off—when he awoke—not without sadness at the thought of home, yet glad that his dream was only a dream. At the chaplain's meeting to-day the prayers were offered by Mr. Ingersoll of Col. Wooster's regt and Mr. Johnston, chaplain of the Highlanders:—"two excellent prayers, solemn and fervent." The diarrhœa still troublesome.

29. Sat. There was an alarm in the middle of the night caused by news from Half-way-brook, to the effect that our wagon train and guard had been cut off by the enemy, and a thousand men were immediately despatched to South-Bay to intercept the foe.

It is said that the savages killed 13 or 14 women—that

the regulars of the Guard, with one exception, were killed, and that the Provincials took to their heels. With the liquor which they took the Indians got drunk. On discovering this some English officers asked assistance from Col. Hart,[17] who had half of his regiment with him, and he refused.

30. (Sabb.) This morning word came before day-

[17] The first mention of COL. HART in this Journal is far from favorable. From the facts as stated we are compelled to feel that his refusal of succor was unpardonably cruel. But we read later in the diary that a military tribunal took cognizance of the case, and we are left to infer that he was acquitted. On this point we have, indeed, more than mere negative evidence. The "New Hampshire Gazette" for Sept. 22, 1758, contains the following paragraph. "By a letter from Lake George of the 7th instant we are informed that John Hart, Esq., Colonel of the New Hampshire regiment now in his Majesty's service had received his Tryal, and was acquitted with honor by the whole Court." Before this ancient paragraph had been hunted up for me by a Portsmouth gentleman, I wrote to the late Chief Justice Perley, of Concord, asking if he could give me any additional information concerning Col. Hart. Unable to look into the matter himself — for he was even then down with the malady which soon deprived New Hampshire of her greatest jurist — he promptly referred me to Judge Nesmith, of Franklin, Dr. Bouton of Concord and Mr. W. H. T. Hackett, of Portsmouth. Judge Nesmith's reply was instant and copious; — but, alas, it asserted that Col. Hart and his regiment went in 1758, not to Lake George, but to Louisburg, where he and many of his men took the small pox and died. To accept this as truth would be to confess that an important part of my grandfather's record is pure fiction. The venerable Dr. Bouton explored books and documents — thought that there was reason to doubt the truth of the story that Hart died at Louisburg, — but could find nothing to disprove it. Mr. Hackett was very kind—made much inquiry in and around Portsmouth — and applied to supposed descendants of Col. Hart now living in Vermont; — all, without obtaining a single gleam of light. At this stage I submitted the case, with its difficulties, to a friend of many years, Lory Odell, Esq., of Portsmouth. A week had not elapsed when his answer came — authentic and complete in its details and solving the problem beyond all doubt.

I have given here this short account of a historical quest finally successful, not only in grateful acknowledgment to the gentlemen

break from Rogers at South Bay that he had found about twenty of the enemy's boats—and thought that there were yet more. These boats were on Lake George. Before the sun was up, Gen. Lyman and Col. Haviland[18]

who so kindly endeavored to aid me, but as an encouragement to others who may be prosecuting similar inquiries.

I can now say confidently that John Hart was of an old and respectable family in Portsmouth, N. H., where his position in life was that of a master ship-builder. We hear of him as early as 1753, when he deeded to the town for purposes of interment the land still known as the North Burying Ground. In 1754 he was on the board of selectmen. In the Crown Point expedition of 1756, he was Lieut. Col. of a New Hampshire regiment under the command of Col. Nathaniel Meserve. In 1758, as our Journal abundantly shows, he commanded a regiment at Fort Edward and at Lake George. In the years 1759, 1760 and 1761, there is evidence that he was yet in the public employ. A headstone still to be seen in the ground which he sold to the town informs us that he died on the 30th of October, 1777, aged seventy-two years. The false statement above referred to in regard to his death appeared probably first in print in a gossipping book known as "Brewster's Rambles around Portsmouth." It is a fact that Col. Nathaniel Meserve, also a Portsmouth master ship-builder, did go with many of his craftsmen in the summer of 1758, to help Sir Geoffry Amherst take Louisburg, and it is equally certain that he and several of his skilled workmen died there of small pox. It is easy enough to see how, in the legends and traditions of later times, the two men might be confounded, or both of them consigned to the same fate.

[18] WILLIAM HAVILAND was an Irishman, born in 1718. He was in service under Vernon in the deadly climate of Carthagena, and was an aide of Gen. Blakeney in the rebellion of 1745. In 1752 he was made Lieut. Col. of the 27th Foot, also known as the Iniskillings. It was these men whom he led against Montcalm's fatal lines, as well as in the more successful campaigns which followed. This regiment was afterwards mounted, and the Iniskillings, in company with their inseparable and beloved comrades, the Scotch Greys, have shown their mettle on many a bloody field, and in almost every region of the globe. They were among the heroes of Waterloo,—and, at Balaclava, three hundred of these gallant horsemen, under Gen. Scarlett, charged, penetrated, and dispersed, a mass of more than two thousand well appointed Russian cavalry;—an exploit not less daring, and far more useful, than the world-renowned blunder of Cardigan's Light Brigade.

with twelve hundred Provincials and Regulars were embarked and on the way to join Rogers. Col. Bagley, with four hundred or five hundred additional troops, having the same destination, left in "battoes" and whaleboats this afternoon. J. C. preached as usual, and had many Regulars among his auditors.

Col. Haviland came out with Lord Loudon in 1757. This Journal makes frequent mention of him in 1758. In 1759 he was with Gen. Amherst, and in high command, for he led the van of the army, as it pursued the retreating foe. In 1760, as Brig. Gen., he commanded the expedition of regulars and provincials, which reduced Isle aux Noix, St. Johns and Chambly. He had great mechanical ingenuity, a talent which he turned to good account in some of his military operations. At the reduction of Martinique in 1762, he was second in command. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant General and of General, and died in 1784.

[*To be continued.*]

THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR,

WITH A SKETCH OF WILLIAM RUSSELL, OF BOSTON, ONE OF THE "TEA DESTROYERS."

By James Kimball.

[READ ON TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 16, 1873.]

We have assembled this evening in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the "Boston Tea Party," or in other words, in commemoration of the destruction of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, in Boston Harbor on the evening of Dec. 16, 1773.

It must be admitted that the act itself was the combined resistance of the people of the New England Colonies, expressed through the people of Boston, against an obnoxious law enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, and promulgated to the Colonies as the law of the land, requiring obedience and support, until repealed by lawful authority.

Our fathers considered this particular act unjustifiable and oppressive; in conflict with their right of self-government; and from their inability to test their colonial rights in a judicial manner, they resorted to the only prompt method that was open to them, of resisting its operation, and thus bringing the question of its legality to a speedy solution.

The first century having passed, and standing as we do upon the threshold of the second, it may not be unprofitable for us of to-day to refresh our memories as to the

causes that led to the uprising of the people on the memorable 16th of Dec., 1773, and which culminated in the important and significant act of an open resistance to the authority of the British Parliament.

From the standpoint of to-day, after having endured the burden of taxation on almost everything that enters into our daily wants, we might consider the imposition of the trifling tax, of threepence a lb. on tea a very small matter; but our fathers considered it only as an unjust and tyrannical measure of the British Ministry, and as an usurpation of authority not to be submitted to. Having tried persuasive measures with no prospect of success, the only course left to them (as they saw it) was to destroy "the worst of plagues, the detestable tea," and thus prove that they were ready to risk the consequences, and show their manly opposition to the machinations of British tyranny.

1760. The death of George the 2d, and the accession of George the 3d, opened a new era in the history of the colonies.

After the conquest of Canada, and peace with France in 1763, the people of the colonies expected a revival of her trade, and an advancement in her prosperity. It had been the policy of the Home Government to repress all attempts of the Colonies in the developments of her manufacturing industries, especially in those branches which might affect the industries of Britain.

The manufacture of iron was especially forbidden; as early as 1750, an act was passed preventing the manufacture of pig, or bar iron, or the erection of any furnace for making of steel; or, after erection, continued in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America. (23d, George 2d, Chap. 29, Sec. 9.)

The population of Massachusetts amounted at the close

of the French War to about two hundred and fifty thousand. Her commerce and fisheries employed from five to six hundred vessels, mostly owned in Salem, Boston, and Marblehead.

There were about three hundred sail employed in the Bank Fisheries, and a large number of boats in the Bay, with about one hundred sail in the mackerel fishing. The value of their products, including dry and pickled fish and liver oil was estimated at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum; two-fifths of the Bank fish, being merchantable, were shipped to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the net proceeds being remitted to Great Britain. The remaining three-fifths, being unfit for the European markets, were shipped with the pickled fish and mackerel to the West Indies, and were there exchanged for sugar and molasses.

About two hundred vessels were employed in the freighting of the products of the Colonies, averaging two voyages annually. Lumber of all kinds, provisions, horses, and many other articles, the products of the Colonies, found a ready market in the West Indies.

In addition to the fisheries, the demand for vessels for the foreign and coastwise trade, had largely stimulated ship-building. Before the war with Canada three hundred vessels had been built annually. Some of these vessels sailed direct to Europe with cargoes consisting of lumber, naval stores, pot and pearlash, fish and oil, and many other articles, all the production of the Colonies, the proceeds of all which were remitted to Great Britain, to pay for the goods we received from them.

Another branch of our commerce was that to Africa, where we shipped large quantities of New England rum to supply the traders in ships from Great Britain, with whom it was exchanged for other European goods, brought

out by them, by which they were enabled to conduct their trade to much better advantage. This rum was exchanged for slaves, which were sent to the West Indies for sale, and paid for with bills on London. The proceeds of this trade centring in London. (Observations by Com. of Merchants of Boston, Pub. 1769.)

By an act of 1733, which was still in force, a duty of sixpence a gallon was placed on all foreign molasses brought into the Colonies. In case of forfeiture, one-third went to the Government, one-third to the Informer, one-third to the Governor. This act had been enforced very strictly up to the present time; interfering very much in times past with the trade of the Colonies, by the construction placed upon the meaning of the act. Large sums had been collected under it, and great abuses committed in the name of law.

After the conquest of Canada, the Ministry of Great Britain had more time to look after the Colonies. The growing spirit of independence in speech and thought must be crushed out. Some of the discerning men of Great Britain foresaw the end from the beginning. Franklin was told in 1760, by one who was afterward raised to the Peerage (Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden), "I know that you will one day throw off dependence upon this Country, and notwithstanding your boasted affection, will set up for Independence." "No such idea is entertained in the minds of the Americans; and no such idea will ever enter their heads unless you greatly abuse them," was the prompt reply of Franklin. "Very true," was the rejoinder, "that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event."

The prediction was nearer its fulfilment than either of these statesmen expected.

1760. The merchants of Boston were determined to

test the legality of the proceedings under this Act, and brought their grievances by petition before the General Court. This petition was referred to a committee who reported in their favor, and their report was accepted in both branches, but negatived by Gov. Bernard.

Whilst the minds of the people were exercised in relation to the veto of the Governor, orders were received from the Board of Trade in England, directing the Officers of the Customs in America to apply to the Justices of the Supreme Courts for Writs of Assistance to enable them to carry into more vigorous execution the "Acts of Trade" which had been enacted by the British Parliament.

"In many of the Provinces these Writs had already been denied by the Courts,"[1] but the necessity of granting them, as compared with Massachusetts, was so small that they were allowed to pass by in silence.

The Officers of the Customs. being encouraged no doubt by the veto of Gov. Bernard, petitioned the Court of Justices to grant them "Writs of Assistance," giving them the right of search for "uncustomed goods." Their proceedings were universally opposed, and condemned by the general sentiment of the people, and James Otis was selected in behalf of the people, to argue the question before the full Bench of Justices.

1761. The petition of the Officers of the Customs on behalf of the Crown was argued in Feb., 1761, Hon. Jeremy Gridley,[2] attorney general of the province, ap-

[1] J. Adams, Amsterdam letters.

[2] It is due to the character of Mr. Gridley to say that he was decidedly opposed to the action of the British Ministry, but as attorney general was obliged to defend the obnoxious Writs of Assistance, and encountered the powerful opposition of his former pupil, James Otis. He was a man of great legal attainments, of fine talents, of distinguished learning and virtue. Died in Brookline, Sept., 1767. (Drake's Hist. Biog.)

pearing for the King, and in defence of the propriety of granting the officers of the Crown the power to search, etc., and urges "to refuse the Writ of Assistance, *even* if the *common privileges* of *Englishmen are thus taken away* is to *deny, that the Parliament* of *Great Britain* is the Sovereign Legislature of the British Empire."

James Otis, in his answer to the attorney general, says, "I am determined to my dying day to oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villany on the other, as this Writ of Assistance." Again he says, "The freedom of one's house is an essential branch of English liberty. A man's house is his castle, and while he is quiet he is as well guarded as his Prince. This Writ, if declared legal, annihilates this privilege. Officers and their minions may enter our houses when they please and we cannot resist them; upon base suspicion they may institute a search. The only authority found for it is a law enacted in the zenith of arbitrary power, when Star Chamber abuses were pushed to extremity by some ignorant Clerk of the Exchequer."

The appeal of Otis was of no avail. The officers were granted all the authority they desired, it being understood that the Chief Justice Hutchinson controlled the action of the court. So much excitement was caused by their decision that the whole question was referred to the Home Government for instructions.

In Feb., 1763, England, having ratified a treaty of peace with France and Spain, the ministry had leisure to turn their attention to the American Colonies. Accordingly Lord Grenville, on the meeting of Parliament in 1764, moved a "Number of Resolutions for raising a Revenue in America, and also to enact a Bill called the Stamp Act."

The bill for raising a revenue from importations was hurried through Parliament, and received the royal assent, but the Stamp Act failed of receiving votes enough to become a law.

The most obnoxious part of the Revenue Act was an additional duty on sugar of twenty-two shillings per hundred pounds on white, and five shillings on brown. This duty was to be paid into the British Exchequer, for defraying the expenses, protecting and securing the British Colonies in America.

The news of the passage of this act caused much excitement in New England; but as the most obnoxious feature of the original bill, viz., the Stamp Act, which had been impending over them was lost, their fears subsided and they endeavored to accommodate themselves to the new conditions of trade with as much ease as possible.

With the commencement of the year 1765, the Stamp and Mutiny Acts were passed. The Stamp Act required the affixing of stamps or the use of stamped paper, in all of the business transactions throughout the colonies. Whilst the Mutiny Act required the colonies to furnish the troops quartered upon them for the enforcement of these obnoxious measures with sustenance and necessary quarters.

The passage of these bills aroused the spirit of Liberty throughout the Colonies. To be required to support and maintain foreign troops in their midst in a time of peace, they understood to mean a determination to execute the king's instructions, and the obnoxious laws which were to be forced upon them, backed by foreign bayonets.

In July, by a change in the British Ministry, Pitt, the champion of liberty and law, was recalled to office. The people of Boston, desirous of signifying their joy at the

recalling of Pitt, resolved to celebrate the birthday of the Prince of Wales, which came on the 12th of August. Bonfires were kindled in King street (now State) and the people gave themselves up for a day of general rejoicing, crowds of people filling the streets, rending the air with shouts of "Pitt and Liberty."

The "Sons of Liberty"[3] were determined on some public demonstration of their joy that the "Champion of the Rights of Man, and of Liberty for all Men" was now a power in the ministry. The people on the morning of the 14th of August, as they passed the liberty tree,[4] be-

[3] But little is known of the organization of the "Sons of Liberty" at the present day. They were very truly a secret society; not even the roll of its members has ever come to light. It had its secret language of recognition, by which they were able to protect themselves from impostors or informers, and they were bound together in defence of "Equality before the Law."

The following is from a private manuscript in my possession, written by Col. John Russell in 1850, whose father was one of the "Sons," and an active participator during those stirring scenes (with Paul Revere, Melville, Sprague, etc.), a school master living during the war on Temple street, Boston. Col. Russell says, "The Sons of Liberty consisted of an association of spirited men, who were determined to resist the oppressive edicts of the British Ministry, and to sustain and support each other in their efforts to rescue the town and country from the thraldom of tyrannic power. On public occasions each member wore suspended from his neck a medal, on one side of which was the figure of a stalwart arm, grasping in its hand a pole surmounted with a Cap of Liberty, and surrounded by the words, 'Sons of Liberty.' On the reverse was the emblem of the Liberty Tree. One of these medals I once had in my possession, with the initials of my father's name, W. R., engraved thereon, but it was many years ago irrecoverably lost."

[4] "The Liberty Tree was the largest and most prominent of a number of very fine elm trees that stood near what is now the corner of Essex and Washington streets, opposite Boylston street (Frog-lane) and which were destroyed by the British soldiers whilst they held possession of Boston. The spot was designated for a long period after its destruction by a liberty pole, which was described as being

held an effigy of Andrew Oliver, "the Infamous Stamp Master," suspended by the neck therefrom, dressed in his robes of office, and accompanied with the emblems of Lord Bute (the friend of Grenville) a pair of "jack boots" with his Satanic Majesty peeping out of the top, and holding the stamp act in his hands. Chief Justice Hutchinson ordered the Sheriff to cut down the obnoxious image, but he was given to understand by the crowd that they were to swing during their pleasure where they were.

Gov. Bernard called together the Honorable Council, but the majority were adverse to taking any action against the joy of the people. In the evening the concourse of people was greatly increased by the people of the adjoining towns, when the effigies were taken down, and placed upon a bier, and, supported by bearers, was by them borne, as in a funeral procession, through the principal streets to the town house; here they halted near the council chamber, with shouts of "liberty, property, no stamps." Three cheers were then given, and the procession passed on to Oliver's Dock at the foot of the present Kilby street, where a building occupied by Stamp Master Oliver as an office was speedily demolished, and the materials, carried to the top of Fort Hill, were (with the effigies of Oliver and Bute) burnt in one huge bonfire in front of Oliver's house.

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near by Ezekiel Russell's Printing House and Book Shop, sign of the Bible and Heart. The public spirited owner of the liberty tree block has saved from oblivion the memory of this spot sacred to the cause of liberty, by the erection upon it of a beautiful building, with a representation of the liberty tree cut in freestone and inserted in the front of the building.

Col. Russell was born in Boston in 1779, served his time with Maj. Ben. Russell of the 'Columbian Centinel,' printed at Boston, and, when a boy, from his family connection with the events of the revolution, took a great interest in these historic associations."

It was fully believed by the people of Boston that Hutchinson would enforce the "Infamous Stamp Act," and cause it to be fully executed by requiring stamps to be affixed to all instruments used in the courts, and they resolved to pay him a visit. On the evening of the 26th of August, after calling upon several of the officers of the customs, a large concourse of the citizens assembled in front of the house of the Chief Justice in "Garden Court Street." His house was sacked, all his furniture and papers were burned in the street, and the house and contents were left a mass of ruins.

Gov. Bernard immediately assembled the Council, and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the ringleaders, and one hundred pounds for other persons interested therein, but it availed nothing. No discoveries were made.

The news of the excitement in America in relation to the Stamp Act had reached England, and advices were sent back advising conciliatory measures on the part of the custom officials, and all others to whom the execution of the act was intrusted.

On the 1st of November the Act was to take effect. The people had fully determined to resist the enforcement. In Boston the bells were tolled and minute guns were fired; vessels in port displayed their colors at half-mast, and even the children in the street caught up the popular motto, and shouted "Liberty, Property, No Stamps."

In the evening the effigy of Lord Grenville, which had hung suspended from the Liberty Tree during the day, was cut down, carried to the gallows, and suspended thereon, after which it was torn in pieces by the populace.

Business of every kind was completely paralyzed; the people were awaiting results. A meeting of the town's

people being notified for the 18th of December, Oliver, the Stamp Master, took the precaution to resign, and, in the presence of two thousand people, an oath was administered to him by one of the magistrates of Boston, under the Liberty Tree, "that he would never act in that office either directly or indirectly." (Gov. Bernard's letter to Hillsborough.) The "Massachusetts Gazette" of the 19th inst. says "that the dampness of the weather, on this day, did not damp the ardor of the people."

There was no doubt in the mind of the Stamp Master as to the origin of the call for this last meeting. The 14th of Aug. was a gentle reminder of what might be expected. The Sons of Liberty were prompt in action, composed of the leading men of the day. The governor himself feared them, and desired to arrest some of their leaders, and send them to England to be tried for treason. In one of his private letters written to Lord Hillsborough in 1768, in setting forth the difficulties and embarrassments in the way of removing from office those of the justices who oppose the authority of the king, he says, "And yet, my Lord, I would not insinuate that we have no fit objects for such a censure; the Sons of Liberty have not been without Magistrates. We have seen Justices attending at Liberty Tree; one to administer an Oath to the Stamp Master, when he was obliged to swear that he would not execute his Office; another to perform the Function of Toast Master; a third to consult but lately about fortifying the Town, etc. All these are included in two lists, which your Lordship has, that of the five Selectmen who signed the circular letter for a Convention, of which all but the first are in the Commission, and that of the eight Justices who signed the refusal to Billet the Soldiers. Now if the Censure of these Proceedings should produce an Order to me to supersede the Commis-

sions of these Gentlemen, it would be a Trial of the Power of the Governor." Again, "It is true the Gov^r with the advice of his Council can supersede him; but if he acts in a Popular Cause, under which Opposition to Government finds it easy to shelter itself, the Council, who are themselves the creatures of the People, will never join with the Governor in censuring *the Overflowings of Liberty.*

1766. The Merchants of Boston to the number of two hundred, had agreed to import no more goods from England, and countermanded those already ordered until the Stamp Act was repealed. At the commencement of this year John Adams wrote "this year brings Ruin, or Salvation to the British Colonies."

Lord Grenville, in answer to Pitt in Parliament, censured the British Ministry for not giving an earlier notice of the disturbances in America, saying, "Lately they were only occurrences; they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt not they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name and take that of Revolution."

On the 18th of March the repeal of the Stamp Act was approved by the king, and was received with great joy throughout the land. The 19th of May was set apart as a day of rejoicing. The bell of Dr. Mather Byles church (Hollis street church), as the nearest to the Liberty Tree, began to ring at one o'clock in the morning. The chime on Christ church, at the north end of the town, responded. The steeples were decorated with flags. Liberty Tree was dressed in flags and brilliantly illuminated in the evening. "Open house" was kept by several of the public spirited men; John Hancock gave a magnificent entertainment to the "gentry," not forgetting the

populace, treating them to a pipe of Maderia wine of his own importation. The celebration of the repeal was carried through by the "Sons of Liberty" in an orderly and dignified manner. At midnight, at the tap of the drum, the crowd quietly dispersed, and in one half hour the town was in complete repose. (Hewes' Memoir.)

Aug. 14. The anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was celebrated with great parade by the Sons of Liberty. An account of the celebration was sent to England, reporting the treasonable conduct of the Sons of Liberty, who had drank toasts to the health of Otis, "the American Hampden who first proposed a Congress." (Mass. Hist., 328.)

In July, 1767, news was received that a new Revenue Act had been carried through Parliament to go into operation in November. The new measure established a board of commissioners of customs, and also legalized the issuing of writs of assistance. The revenue collected by the new Act was to be disposed of at the pleasure of the king.

The news of the passage of the new act created great excitement throughout the colonies, proving to the people that the ministry had not abandoned the right of taxation with the repeal of the Stamp Act. One of the patriots of Boston said on hearing of the passage of the new measure, "The die is thrown." "The Rubicon is passed."

The merchants said; "We will form an immediate and universal combination to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing imported from Great Britain."

Dr. Franklin obtained in 1772 or 1773, whilst in London, a portion of the secret correspondence of Gov. Hutchinson, Bernard, Andrew Oliver, etc., from which we are enabled to form some idea of the treachery of the men who were placed over the administration of affairs in Massachusetts.

Hutchinson writes to Earl of Hillsborough, Aug. 10, "Yesterday, at a meeting of the merchants, it was agreed by all present to give no more orders for goods from England, nor receive any on Commission untill the late acts are repealed, and it is said all but 16 in the town have subscribed to that tenor. I hope the list will be published, that I may transmit it to you."

Another letter written by the late Stamp Master Oliver in relation to the petition sent to Parliament, says, "This confirms me in an opinion that I have taken up a long time since, that if there be no way to take off the *original incendiaries*, they will continue to instill their poison into the minds of the people, through the vehicle of the BOSTON GAZETTE."

The Commissioners of the Customs arrived in Boston and landed on the 5th of Nov., 1767. The populace were excited. At a town meeting held of the 20th of November, Otis counselled caution, and advised that no opposition should be made to the new duties.

The Custom's Commissioner had informed the Home Government that their own lives were endangered, and that there were no ships of war in the province. Lieut. Gov. Oliver writes to the Ministry, May 11, 1768, "The Commissioners of the Customs have already been openly affronted; the Governor's Company of Cadets have come to a resolution not to wait on him as usual on the day of General Election the 25th inst., if these gentlemen are of the company. And the town of Boston have passed a vote that Faneuil Hall (in which the Governor and his company usually dine on that day) shall not be opened to him if the Commissioners are invited to dine with him."

June 10, a sloop belonging to John Hancock, named the Liberty, was seized for an alleged breach of the Rev-

enue Laws. This aroused the people. The collector advised the Commissioners to release the sloop, Mr. Hancock being willing to give bonds for the release of the sloop for the sake of preserving public order.

June 18, Hutchinson gives the following account in his letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, saying "That the Commissioners of the Customs had been obliged to withdraw from the town and go on board the Romney Frigate, with the intent to remove to the Castle. He represents that a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, a wealthy merchant of Boston, and a Representative, of great influence over the populace, was seized for a notorious breach of the acts of trade, and taken into custody by the officers of the Romney man of war, and removed under her guns. A mob was immediately raised, the officers insulted, bruised, and much hurt. The Governor pressed his Council to assist them, with their advice, but they declined; not considering how much it must be resented in England."

Mr. Paxton informs the ministry under date of the 20th of June, 1768, "that they had been obliged to seek protection on board his Majesty's ship Romney, and unless we have immediately two or three regiments 'tis the opinion of all the friends of government that Boston *will be in open rebellion.*

June 14, a meeting of the "Sons of Liberty," was held at "Liberty Hall" (a large space or clearing under the Liberty Tree, so called), where they voted to request the authorities of the town to call a public meeting of the people at Faneuil Hall. The Selectmen called a meeting at 3 o'clock P.M., but such was the concourse that they were obliged to adjourn to the Old South meeting house. (Bernard wrote to Hillsborough, June 16, that at least four thousand men came out of the country for that purpose.) James Otis, Esq., was chosen moderator. An

address was voted to the governor, and the meeting adjourned to the next day at 4 o'clock, P.M. On assembling, Mr. Otis addressed the meeting, urging upon the people in the strongest terms the preservation of public order, and expressing the hope and belief that their grievances would be redressed; and added:—"if not and we are called upon to defend our liberties and privileges, I hope and believe we shall, one and all, resist even unto blood. But I pray God Almighty that this may never so happen.

The address was presented to Gov. Bernard at his residence, but he refused, in his reply, to order the removal of the Romney Frigate.

The General Assembly of Massachusetts, in considering the new Revenue Act in 1767, and the great difficulties that must arise from the enforcement of such taxes, chose a committee of correspondence with the rest of the Colonies, and urging them to act in concert with them for its repeal.

On the 21st of June, 1768, Gov. Bernard communicates to the General Assembly, a letter from Lord Hillsborough of the 22d of April, expressing his majesty's displeasure, "at their writing to other Colonies on the subject of their representations against some late Acts of Parliament, and that it was the *King's pleasure*, that the *Assembly* rescind the vote which gave birth to the circular of the Speaker."

A clause in the letter of Hillsborough, required the Governor to dissolve the General Assembly, in case the vote was not rescinded.

On the 30th of June the General Assembly refuse to comply with the command of the King, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen. On the next day they were dissolved. The majority of the Assembly were praised throughout the Colonies for their bold and manly defence

of their legislative rights. The glorious ninety-two was a standing toast throughout the Country.

July 18. At a town meeting in Salem a vote was passed thanking the Assembly "for their firmness in maintaining our just rights, and liberties." The two representatives from Salem being loyalists (William Brown and Peter Frye) voted in the minority. They were described as "His Enemy's interpreters of hard sayings."

(The King's Speech in Nov. says, that Boston had proceeded to measures "subversive of the Constitution.")

The town of Ipswich voted on the 11th of August—"That they highly approve the conduct of those gentlemen of the late House of Representatives who were for maintaining the rights and liberties of their constituents, and were against rescinding the resolves of a former House." Dr. John Calef the representative from Ipswich also voted, with the seventeen minority, for which he subsequently apologized in the "Essex Gazette" of Salem, "that he regretted voting June 30, 1768, in favor of the royalists; that his purpose is to maintain the charter rights against the late acts of Britain."

Aug. 14, the anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was observed; a large concourse assembled under the Liberty Tree, under the direction of the Sons of Liberty, and proceeded to Roxbury and partook of an entertainment provided for the occasion. The selectmen and representatives of the town were their guests.

An officer had arrived in Boston a few days before to provide quarters for the troops that were soon expected. The town authorities refused to furnish quarters for troops in time of peace, standing upon their rights as Britons; contending that the Castle and Barracks were sufficient for all military forces required by the Colony of Massachusetts.

The fleet with troops, consisting of seven vessels of War, arrived on the 28th of Sept. from Halifax.

The authorities of Boston having refused to provide on the requisition of the Governor, Gen. Gage was compelled with a northern winter before him, to hire such quarters as he could procure at the expense of the King.

On landing, they expected to have met with resistance, each soldier having been furnished with sixteen round of shot. They marched up King street, with drums and fifes playing, to the Common where a portion went into camp; the rest were quartered for a time in the State House and in Faneuil Hall.

In July, 1769, Gov. Bernard embarked for England followed by the honest indignation of the people. His departure was celebrated by the ringing of bells, firing of guns, and with the usual bonfire in the evening. Thomas Hutchinson was appointed as his successor. The correspondence which was obtained in England over his signature proves that he was laboring to subvert the liberties of the Colonies. Such expressions as these in his secret correspondence show him to have been false to the land of his birth. "Keep secret every thing I write."—Suffer no part of my letters to transpire," etc., etc.

It was understood that Parliament would introduce a new bill abolishing most of the duties, but retaining that on tea. This was not satisfactory to the merchants of Boston, and nothing would have been but an entire abandonment of the right of taxation, an entire repeal of the whole revenue system and the removal of all restrictions imposed by the British Parliament.

Aug. 14, the anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was celebrated this year with great parade. The Sons of Liberty to the number of three hundred and fifty dined together at Robinson's at the sign of the Lib-

erty tree in Dorchester. John Adams and several noted men from the several Colonies were among the guests. Two tables were laid in the open field, and set with four hundred plates, with an awning of sailcloth overhead. The toasts were spirited and appropriate. The 45th was "Strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes, to such as deserve either."

I find in an old manuscript an entry of this celebration made by one of the Sons of Liberty, viz.:

WILKES & LIBERTY

May the Sons of Liberty Shine with Lustre.

August the 14th, 1769.
Liberty without end.
Amen.

Boston

American	Wilkes
92	45

The 92 evidently refers to "the glorious ninety-two" who refused to rescind an act of the previous assembly, and are referred to in a letter to Hillsborough, thus: "others to make up a Procession of 45 Carriages & 92 Persons on the 14th of August last." The procession returned to town before dark, marched around the state house and dispersed quietly and in good order. The procession is said to have been a mile and a half in length.

In the early part of 1770 a Bill was passed repealing all the American duties excepting that upon TEA. The great question which agitated the public mind was not the number of articles taxed, or the amount of the tax, but the right of the British Parliament to tax an unrepresented British people. "In this respect we are treated with less Decency, & Regard, than the Romans shewed even to the Provinces which they had conquered. *They*

only determined upon the sum which each should furnish, and left every Province to raise it in the manner most easy and convenient for themselves." (Merchants of Bost., p. 14.)

Threepence a pound on tea, or any amount, on any other article, was a sufficient cause for the continuance of the agitation; and a determination to continue this agitation until the right of taxation was abandoned by the ministry.

Several vessels had arrived bringing the "obnoxious commodity." No person being willing to risk its sale it was put into store. The "Boston Gazette," in April, 1770, announces for the information of the adjacent towns, "That there is not above one seller of tea in town, who has not signed an agreement not to dispose of any tea untill the late Revenue Acts are repealed."

John Hancock offers one of his vessels free of charge to reship what was then stored in Boston, his offer was accepted, the vessel loaded with great dispatch and sent back to London.

The people of Salem and Ipswich and most of the towns on the seaboard, expressed publicly their opinions by vote. In May the people of Salem choose a committee of correspondence and inspection, "and subscribe against the importation of English goods, and also of FOREIGN TEA." In Ipswich the warrant for a town meeting calls it "that pernicious weed," and one of their votes calls "the excessive use of tea a bane to this country."

The murder of the German boy Snyder, by a person by the name of Richardson, supposed to be in sympathy with the Commissioners of Customs, increased the excitement. It is related in the papers of the day substantially as follows:—

It seems that one "Lilly" had rendered himself ob-

noxious by importing contrary to his agreement, and was advertised in the papers (Bost. Gaz., Feb. 26, 1770). Some of the people during the night preceding the 22d of Feb., 1770, set up near the store of Lilly a carved head on a pole, with the name of some of the importers upon it, and underneath a hugh hand pointing to Lilly's shop door. This device attracted a crowd of boys, who probably entered into the humor of the caricature as well as their elders. Richardson endeavored to get a countryman to run the post and image down with his team, but failed. Upon this the boys began shouting, and no doubt some epithets were bestowed upon him which excited his ire, as he was suspected of being an "informer." The result was, Richardson rushed into his house and procured a shot gun and discharged it into the crowd. A boy about eleven years of age by the name of Snider was wounded so badly that he died, and a son of John Gore[5] was badly wounded.

This affair produced great excitement. The "Boston Gazette" says that "the untimely death of this amiable youth will be a standing monument to posterity, that the time was when innocence itself was not safe." The "Boston Gazette" gives the notice of the funeral of the boy Snider in the following communication:—

"Messrs. Edes & Gill:—

The general Sympathy and Concern for the murder of the lad by the base and infamous Richardson, on the 23d, will be a sufficient Reason for your notifying the Publick that he will be buried from his house in Frogg Lane, opposite Liberty Tree, on Monday, when all the friends of Liberty may have an opportunity of paying their last Respects to the remains of this little Hero, and *first martyr to the noble Cause*, whose manly spirit (after this accident happened) appeared in his discreet Answers to

[5] Christopher Gore, afterwards Gov. of Massachusetts.

his doctor, and Thanks to the Clergyman who prayed with him, and the Firmness of mind he shewed when he first saw his Parents, and while he underwent the greatest distress of bodily Pain; and with which he met the King of Terrors. These things, together with the several heroic Pieces found in his Pocket, particularly Wolfe's 'Summit of human Glory" gives reason to think he had a martial Genius, and would have made a clever man.

A Mourner."

The funeral was attended by a great concourse of the people. The body was placed under the Liberty Tree, and there the procession was formed. Four or five hundred of his school fellows preceded the coffin in couples, the bier being borne by six of Snider's playfellows. The coffin bore this inscription, "Innocentia nusquam tuta."[6] The relatives followed the coffin, and then followed the citizens, estimated at fifteen hundred, with the addition of thirty chariots and chaises.

Richardson was tried and convicted, but the governor refused to sign the warrant for his execution. He was confined in prison for the space of two years, and was finally pardoned by the king, and left New England for the southern colonies.

The excitement growing out of these occurrences had hardly subsided when the pride of some of the British soldiers was humbled by the contempt in which they were held by the populace, even the boys holding them in derision.

A difficulty had arisen between some of the ropemakers belonging to Gray's ropewalk and the soldiers, on the 2d of March. From the testimony taken at that time it is certain that the soldiers were determined to have their revenge.

Their design was accomplished in "the massacre" in

[6] Innocence itself not safe.

Boston on the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by soldiers of the 29th British regiment, by which five persons were killed and several wounded, arousing the indignation of the whole country. Meetings were held, resolutions offered, and the result was the removal of the troops to the Castle in Boston Harbor. The funerals of the murdered men were attended by the principal citizens —the bells were tolled in Boston and the neighboring towns. It was a solemn day to the people of Boston.

The freeholders of Boston, duly qualified and legally warned, assembled in public town meeting in Faneuil Hall, on Monday, the 12th day of March, A. D., 1770. The article in the warrant being read, whereupon,

Voted, That the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq., Doctor Joseph Warren, and Samuel Pemberton, Esq., be a committee for this important business; and they are desired to report as soon as may be.

Attest, WILLIAM COOPER, Esq.

The report of the committee was entitled,

"A short Narrative of the horrid Massacre in Boston, perpetrated in the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by soldiers of the 29th Regiment; which with the 14th were then quartered in Boston, with some observations on the State of Things prior to that Catastrophe."

This narrative of eighty-eight pages throws much light upon the peculiar political condition of affairs at that period of our history.

At the town meeting on the 12th of March, it was made manifest that the troops must be removed from the town, in order to prevent an outbreak of the peace of the community. A committee of fifteen, with Samuel Adams at their head, waited upon the governor, and in the name of the town demanded that the troops be re-

moved to the castle; informing him "That it is our unanimous opinion that the inhabitants and soldiery can live no longer together in safety." The answer of the Lieut. Governor was evasive, "having no authority, etc.," but he had the promise of the Colonel in command that the troops should be kept under restraint until orders could be received from the general in command, then absent in New York.

At the adjourned meeting on the 19th, the committee reported progress; which was not satisfactory to the inhabitants; another committee of seven was chosen with Samuel Adams as chairman, who at once waited upon Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, and demanded, in the name of the people, the removal of the troops, and that the determination of the meeting, which was made up of at least three thousand persons, would be satisfied with nothing short of an immediate compliance. His reply was, "the Troops are not subject to my authority; I have no power to remove them."

Adams' answer was delivered as though he felt the inspiration of the genius of liberty speaking through his lips: "It is at your peril, if you refuse. The meeting is impatient. The country is in motion. Night is approaching and your answer is expected." The Council advised the removal. But the governor hesitated. He was told by some of his friends "that he must either comply, or prepare at once to leave the Province." He prudently took the advice of his friends, and consented to the demand of the people; and preparations were at once made for the departure of the troops to the castle in Boston Harbor.

At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, duly warned and legally assembled in Faneuil Hall, on Wednesday, the 28th of Oct.,

1772; and from thence continued by adjournments to Monday, the 2d of November following,

"It was moved, That a Committee of Correspondence be appointed to consist of twenty-one persons, 'To state the Rights of the Colonists, and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects; to Communicate, and Publish the same to the several towns in this Province and to the World, as the sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations thereof that have been, or from Time to Time may be made; also requesting of each town a free Communication of their Sentiments on this Subject."

Nov. 20. A committee of twenty-one was appointed, with Hon. James Otis as chairman, who presented a very full and able report, which was unanimously adopted and published by vote of the town, "in a Pamphlet and that the Committee be desired to dispose of 600 Copies thereof to the Selectmen of the Towns in the Province &c."

This report set forth,

"First, A state of the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular.

Secondly, A List of the Infringements, and Violation of these Rights.

Thirdly, A Letter of Correspondence with the other Towns." (See Report, 43 pages. Boston. Pub. by Edes & Gill in Queen street.)

The towns throughout the several provinces responded to the call of Boston. The action was so prompt and patriotic that to catch the inspiration of that day it will become necessary to examine the newspapers of those times, to take in the sense of right that pervaded all their doings. Amongst these papers may be mentioned the "Essex Gazette," of Salem, and "Boston Gazette."

In 1773 the British East India Company obtained per-

mission from the government to ship a large quantity of tea to America, with the condition that they were to be exempted from paying the impost duty in England, but with the agreement that the tea should be subject to an impost duty of threepence per pound in America as required by the Revenue Act.

The news, when received, aroused the indignation of the whole country. A British officer writing home from America to London, said, "All America is in a flame" on account of the tea importation. The papers of the day declared that "whoever should purchase or use this article would drink political damnation to themselves." The neighboring towns were acting in concert with the town of Boston.

The town of Cambridge declares that the town of Boston is now struggling for the LIBERTIES of the country, therefore, Resolved, "That this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice to join with the town of Boston, and other towns, in any measure that may be thought proper to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." Salem, Marblehead, Ipswich and most of the towns in Massachusetts, were acting in harmony with the people of Boston.

It was well understood by the people of Boston that there were a few of their townsmen who had through their agents in London been seeking for the consignments of the East India Company, and had vessels in England ready to freight it to the colonies. They were therefore desirous that the consignees should decline their trusts.

On the 2d of Nov., about one o'clock in the morning, the Clarkes[7] (who lived on School street, near the King's Chapel) were roused from their sleep by a violent knocking at the door, and a notification was served upon them,

[7]Firm of Richard Clarke & Sons.

or left under their doors, requiring them to appear the next day at noon under Liberty Tree, publicly to resign their trust, and to fail not at their peril.

On the 3d of Nov. the following handbill was posted and served:—

"To the freemen of this and the neighboring towns:

Gentlemen!—You are desired to meet at the Liberty Tree this day at 12 o clock at noon, then and there to hear the persons to whom the Tea shipped by the E. I. Company is consigned, make a public resignation of their offices as consignees, upon oath,—and also swear that they will re-ship any teas that may be consigned to them by the said Co. by the first vessel sailing for London.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1773. O. C., Sec'y.

☞ *Show us the men that dare take this down!!*"

Early in the morning a large flag was hung out from the tree. The bells in the town rang from 11 to 12 o'clock, the town crier went through the streets calling the people to the Liberty Hall, under the Tree, where from five hundred to one thousand persons assembled. Samuel Adams, John Hancock and William Phillips, representatives of Boston, the selectmen of the town, with William Cooper, the town clerk, were in attendance. The consignees failing to appear were waited upon at the store of the Clark's, on King street, where it was supposed the consignees were assembled. An interview was had, they refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Committee.

The next day a town meeting was held at 10 A. M. John Hancock, moderator. Spirited resolutions were adopted against the duties to be levied on tea landed in America,—that it was a tax upon Americans without their consent, and that the refusal of the consignees was "*daringly affrontive.*"

On Monday, the 22d of November, the committees from the adjacent towns, held a conference with the Boston committee in Faneuil Hall, and the question being put, whether it be the mind of the committees present, to use their joint influence to prevent the landing, and sale of the teas expected by the consignees of the E. I. Co., *it was passed unanimously in the affirmative.*

On Sunday, the 28th of November, arrived the ship Dartmouth, Capt. James Hall, with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, eight weeks from London. As soon as the arrival was known to the committee of correspondence, they obtained from the owner of the vessel a promise not to enter it at the Custom House until Tuesday, the 30th.

The "Boston Gazette" announces the arrival as follows.

"Yesterday morning Capt. Hall in the ship Dartmouth came to anchor near the Castle, in about eight weeks from London, and early this morning came up into the Harbour; on board of which, it is said, are one hundred and fourteen chests of the much talked of East India Company's TEA, the expected arrival of which pernicious article has for some time past put all these northern colonies in a very great ferment. And this morning the following notification was posted up in all parts of the town, viz.

'☞ FRIENDS! BRETHREN! COUNTRYMEN!

That worst of Plagues, the detestable Tea shipped for this Port by the East India Company is now arrived in this Harbour, the Hour of Destruction or manly opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny stares you in the Face; every Friend to his country, to himself, and Posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall at 9 o clock this day (at which time the Bells will ring) to make a united and successful Resistance to this last, worst and most destructive Measure of Administration.

Boston, Nov. 29, 1773.'"

Botta, the Historian, calls this the "*decisive moment.*" Another Historian "the crisis of the American Revolution" John Adams in his famous Amsterdam letters dates the Revolution as commencing in 1760. "And I can truly say, that the people, through the whole course of this long period, have been growing constantly every year, more, and more unanimous, and determined to resist the designs of Great Britain. (Let. No. 1, 1780.")

The call for the meeting brought together a large concourse; by nine o clock Faneuil Hall was filled to its utmost capacity. A motion was made to adjourn to the Old South Meeting House, the Sanctuary of Freedom, which was carried.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Jonathan Williams, Esq., as moderator. Samuel Adams offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted. "That the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came, *at all events*, and that no duty should be paid thereon."

The consignees asked time for consultation which was granted, but at the adjournment the next morning answered that it was out of their power to send back the tea, but that they would store it until advices were received from England. Before the people had time to vent their feelings, at the reply of the consignees, Sheriff Greenleaf appeared with an order, from the Governor, to read a proclamation to the people there assembled, the question was put whether he should be permitted to read, which passed in the affirmative. It was an order "forthwith to disperse, and surcease all farther unlawful proceedings at their utmost peril." The same having been read by the Sheriff, there was immediately afterwards, a loud and determined hiss.

As the meeting had no doubt accomplished their busi-

ness, the question was put whether the assembly would disperse as required, it passed in the affirmative *nem con.*

Another meeting was held in the afternoon, and the consignees were sworn not to land a particle of the tea. Captain Ezekiel Cheever was appointed to command the watch the first night, and a detail made for succeeding nights until the vessels left the harbor. The orders to the watch were "if molested in the night the bells were to be tolled, or rung if anything happened in the day time." A committee was also appointed to give notice to the country towns on any important occasion. The last vote passed before adjournment was viz., "That it is the determination of this Body to carry their votes and resolutions into execution, at the risk of their lives and property."

On the 1st of Dec. the ship Eleanor, Capt. Bruce, arrived with another consignment of tea. On the 3d inst. he was ordered to attend the next day, on a committee of the people in Faneuil Hall, where he was commanded by Samuel Adams and Jonathan Williams, assembled with John Hancock and a great number of others, not to land any of the tea, but to proceed to Griffin's wharf and unload the rest of the cargo. The brig Beaver, Capt. Coffin, arrived a few days after, and the captain was ordered to pursue the same course.

The twenty days having nearly expired, after which the collector of customs might seize the Dartmouth with her cargo, Mr. Rotch, the consignee, was summoned before the committee; he informed them it would ruin him so to do, "and he should not do so."

In consequence of the failure of Rotch to return the tea as agreed to by him in November, the following notice was posted about town on the morning of the 14th of December.

"FRIENDS! BRETHREN! COUNTRYMEN!

The perfidious acts of your restless enemies to render ineffectual the resolutions of the body of the people, demand your assembling at the Old South Meeting House precisely at 2 o'clock this day, at which time the bells will ring."

The meeting was organized by the choice of Samuel Phillips Savage, of Weston, as moderator. It was a meeting for consultation and, counsel, delegations being present from the adjacent towns.

Rotch was summoned to attend the meeting, and he was compelled to accompany a committee to the collector of the port to demand a clearance for the Dartmouth. The collector desired to consult with the comptroller, and promised an answer the next day. The meeting therefore adjourned to the 16th, which was considered the last day for discussion.

The 16th of December opened with pleasant weather; upward of two thousand people from the country were present, besides people of Boston. Mr. Savage[8] was present as moderator. Mr. Rotch reported that the collector would not give him a clearance.

He was then ordered on his peril, to get his ship ready for sea *this day*, enter his protest, and go to the governor, then at Milton, and demand a pass for his ship to go by the Castle. (Boston was the only port that had a military force that could control the ingress and egress of vessels.[9]) The meeting then adjourned to three o'clock,

[8] Mr. Savage was a merchant of Boston, but he is called of Weston. Died in Weston, 1797. Pres. of the Mass. Board of War during the Rev. (Drake's Biog. Dic'y.)

[9] "The inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, and they sailed up the Thames, to proclaim to all the nation that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved. The

P.M., at which time Rotch had not returned. The meeting waited patiently for Rotch's return. The question to be considered was, shall we abide by our resolutions? Quincy advised discretion, but the people cried, "Our hands have been put to the plough, we must not look back," and the people of the whole assemblage voted unanimously that the tea should not be landed.

Just before six o'clock, Rotch returned and reported to the multitude awaiting in the dimly lighted meeting house the answer from the governor: That for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit until the vessel was regularly cleared. "We can do no more to save our country," said Samuel Adams. The next instant a shout was heard at the door, and a number of resolute and determined men, disguised as Indians, gave the "war whoop," which rang through the meeting house, and which was answered by some of their confederates in the galleries. But silence was commanded, and a peaceable deportment *enjoined*, 'till the dissolution of the meeting. The Indians, as they were called, repaired to the wharf (then called Griffin's, now Liverpool) posted their guards, boarded the several ships, and in three hours' time, broke open and emptied into the sea three hundred and forty-two chests of tea. When the tide rose it floated the broken chests and the tea, so that it extended from the south part of the town to the Dorchester Neck, and lodged on the shores. Great care was taken to prevent the tea being purloined by any of the

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inhabitants of Charleston, S. C., unloaded it, and stored it in the cellars, where it could not be used, and where it finally perished. The inhabitants of Boston tried every measure to send the ships back, like New York and Philadelphia; but not being able to pass the Castle, the tea was all thrown into the sea." (J. Adams to Dr. Calkoen, of Amsterdam, 1780.)

people. When the work of the Indians was accomplished they quietly dispersed.

George Robert Twelves Hewes, who died about 1840, and who participated in the destruction of the tea, informed his biographer that among the speakers in the afternoon was John Hancock, and that he gave the opinion very significantly not only that the governor had absolutely made up his mind to land the tea, but as things now were, "*the matter must be settled before 12 o'clock that night;*" and the last words of Hancock were, "let every man do what is right in his own eyes."

In the memoir of Hewes, written by B. B. Thacher in 1835, the names of sixty persons are given on the best recollection of Hewes, that were known to him to have been engaged in the destruction on that memorable occasion.

In this list appears the name of William Russell, of Boston. He was an active member of the Sons of Liberty, and a participator in the stirring scenes preceding the American Revolution.

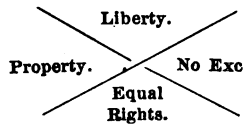
Born May 24, 1748, the son of Samuel and Elizabeth Hacker Russell of Boston. His father was a blockmaker.

William Russell was prepared to enter college, but it is believed he never entered; owing to the troublesome times in trade and business, it was impossible for his family to incur the expense. We find him at an early period, and for some years, an usher in the school then taught by the celebrated Master Griffith, of Boston, who is believed to have kept his school near the site of the present Mayhew School.

He married in 1772 Mary Richardson, daughter of Moses Richardson, of Cambridge, who was killed in the Lexington fight.

William Russell took an important part in the stirring scenes in Boston, preceding and during the revolutionary period.[10]

As a teacher, his love of liberty and equal rights was impressed upon the minds of the youth of that day, for we find in some of his manuscripts, which were used in school on account of the scarcity of books, patriotic mottoes, with the liberty cap, as headings to the pages, viz. :



"Wilkes and Liberty."

"Liberty to all Men."

"Liberty! no Stamps."

"The Sons of Liberty! may they shine with Lustre."

I am indebted to the private memoranda of the late Col. John Russell, of Salem, who was the son of William Russell, of Boston, for the preservation of many of

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[10] Being young and of an ardent temperament, he entered with great zeal into the movements of the day. As a member of the "Sons of Liberty," he was zealous in sustaining the objects of the organization. Mr. Edes, of the "Boston Gazette," was one of his personal friends, and it is known that he contributed articles on public affairs for that paper. In some of his letters written whilst a prisoner in England he addressed him as Bro. Edes. I find the following lines written by him whilst confined as a prisoner in Mill Prison, in England, among some letters in my possession. They are given as a specimen of the maledictory spirit of the Sons of Liberty.

"Great Marrs, with me, come now, and view, this more than Hellish crew,
Great Vulcan, send your thunder forth, and all their fields bestrew,
Rain on their heads perpetual fire, in one Eternal flame;
Let black destruction be their doom, dishonor be their names.
Send mighty bolts to strike the traitors, North and Mansfield, dead;
And liquid fire to scald the Crown from Royal George's head;
Strike all their young posterity with one Eternal curse,
Nor pity them no more than they have ever pitied us.

Mill Prison, Nov. 29th, 3 P. M., 1781. WILL^M RUSSELL."

the incidents relating to the destruction of the tea, as told him by his mother. Being brought up to the trade of a printer in the office of the "Columbian Centinel," gave him more method and exactness in preserving every fact connecting his father therewith.

Having lived during his apprenticeship near the spot where most of the exciting scenes were transacted, he was led in 1835 to embody them into a lecture which he read before the Salem Mechanic Lyceum. In speaking of the "tea party" that gathered on Griffin's Wharf on the evening of the 16th of Dec., 1773, he says, "William Russell was one of the number, who, disguised as an Indian, assisted in throwing overboard and destroying the tea then on board the vessels lying at Griffin's Wharf.

On his return to his home on Temple street, after accomplishing the destruction of the tea on shipboard, he took off his shoes and carefully dusted them over the fire, being careful that none of the tea should remain; he then went to his closet and took from it the tea canister, and as carefully emptied its contents into the fire, nor would he leave it until every particle of tea was consumed.

The next morning he took the canister and had these words painted thereon; on one side, COFFEE; on the reverse, NO TEA. From this time henceforth this luxury, as it was considered in those days, was to be banished, and its use prohibited; to accomplish which the "Tea Destroyers" had bound themslves by a solemn oath.

One of the tea destroyers by the name of Eckley, a barber, was informed against as being one of those who assisted in the destruction of the tea. He was arrested and committed to prison, the Sons of Liberty supporting him whilst in confinement in a most sumptuous manner, and also providing for his family.

The government not deeming it prudent to proceed

against him, after some time set him at liberty. The person who gave the information against him was seized, and dressed in a Yankee coat of "tar and feathers," which were laid on his naked skin; he was then seated on a set of trucks and paraded amidst the huzzas of the multitude, from the Liberty Pole, South End, to the North Battery, with labels affixed, one on his back and another on his breast, with his name, which is now forgotten, in large letters, and underneath, the word "INFORMER." These labels were printed by William Russell with a pen.[11]

The following extract from the log-book of the ship Dartmouth is from the appendix of Memoir of Hews.

"Thursday, Dec. 2. Cloudy weather; began to deliver our goods, and continued to land them from day to day, till Saturday, Dec. 11, having a guard of 25 men every night.

Tuesday, Dec. 14. Have had another town meeting, which is adjourned to Thursday.

Thursday, Dec. 16. This 24 hours rainy weather; town meeting this day. Between 6 and 7 o'clock this evening came down to the wharf a body of about 1000 people;—

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[11] Col. Russell, in a communication to the "Boston Transcript" in 1850, in reference to the destruction of the tea, says, "Very few persons now know where to find Griffin's Wharf, the name of which should have been preserved through all time.

Having ever felt a great interest in the transactions of that eventful period, and knowing the late Major Melville had preserved a small quantity of the prohibited article, he having been, in common with my father and others, engaged in its destruction, he gratified me a short time before his death, with the sight of a small parcel of the veritable TEA, which he found in his clothing on his arrival home, although it was intended that not a particle of it should be preserved; he had it securely sealed up in a small phial; it was of a coarse twist and appeared to be in perfect order. It is to be hoped that this interesting relic is now in safe hands, and that it will eventually, if not so already, be in the possession of the Historical Society." (It is believed to be in the Cabinet of Harvard University.)

among them were a number *dressed and whooping like Indians*. They came on board the ship, and after warning myself and the custom house officer to get out of the way, they unlaid the hatches and went down the hold, where were 80 whole and 34 half chests of tea, which they hoisted on deck, and cut the chests to pieces, and hove the tea all overboard, where it was damaged and lost."

Several of the tea party were living in 1835, and from them Mr. Thacher gathered some information which he has inserted in his memoirs of G. R. T. Hewes. He says that Peter McIntosh was a blacksmith apprentice at that time. He remembers that some of the party came into the shop to disguise their faces with soot.

Henry Purkitt and Samuel Dolbier were apprentices with Samuel Peck the cooper on Essex street. Purkitt relates that whilst at their work that evening, they heard a loud whistle; they left the shop following the sound, which brought them to the wharf. Their part was to jump on to the flats by the side of one of the vessels, it being nearly low tide, and to break up with others by direction of the Commander, the fragments of boxes, and masses of tea which were thrown over in too great haste.

They affected to issue their orders from time to time, in an Indian jargon, and the interpreter then to communicate what the Chiefs ordered. The procuring of keys and lights, the raising of the derrick, trampling the tea in the flats, sweeping the decks at the close of the scene, calling the *mate* up to report whether everything (except the tea, of course) was left as they found it, being regulated through the medium of the Chiefs.

Purkitt and Dolbier went home early. Peck, who was believed to be one of the Chiefs, came in rather softly at 1 o'clock in the morning. The boys noticed some relics of

red paint behind his ears the next day. The only tools the boys used were both made of a *stave* before they started.

Major Ben. Russell was then a school boy, and he well remembered seeing his father and Mr. T. Moore painting each other's faces that evening with lamp black and red ochre, through the window of his wood-house.

(The late Rev. Dr. Prince of Salem informed Col. Russell that he witnessed most of these transactions, he being on the wharf most of the time.)

The destruction of the tea in Boston met the approval of the people, and most of the towns endorsed their doings and entered their vote in their public records.

Ipswich, on the 20th of Dec., voted "That the inhabitants of this town have received real pleasure and satisfaction from the noble and spirited exertions of their Brethren of Boston, and other towns, to prevent the landing of the detested tea, lately arrived there from the E. I. Co., subject to a duty."

Voted,—"That no tea be sold in town whilst this act is in force; that if any one sell it here he shall be deemed an enemy." (Hist. of Ip.)

1773. A committee was chosen in the town of Charlestown to collect all of the Tea in town, paying the owners what it cost them and to burn it in the public market place at twelve o'clock at noon. The same paper reports that it was burnt agreeably to the vote of the town.

A vessel which arrived from Cape Cod with a part of the cargo of Capt. Loring's vessel, which was reported to have sixty chests of tea on board, "was on the evening of her arrival thoroughly searched by Indians, and no TEA found on board. Such a good lookout being kept, what occasion is there for Tide waiters, Pimps or Informers." (Essex Gaz., Jan. 4, 1774.)

May 10, 1774, an arrival at Boston from London brought out a "Copy of one of the most CRUEL, ARBITRARY ACTS that ever disgraced the Reign of a Tyrant.

London, April 4."

The following is the much-talked-of Boston Port Bill, which on Thursday last received the Royal Assent, and after the first of June becomes a law.

"An Act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein maintained, the landing and discharging, the lading or shipping of Goods, Wares and Merchandize at the Town and within the Harbour of Boston in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America."

Troops were ordered to Boston to enforce the Boston Port Bill, and on the 14th of June two regiments landed and encamped on Boston Common. At Salem the 59th regiment from Halifax was stationed.

In the progress of the troubles betwixt the mother country and the colonies, Mr. Russell having made himself so well known and obnoxious to the loyalists in Boston, and from his small means to support his family whilst Boston was in the possession of the British troops, he concluded to leave the town, and went to Cambridge, leaving his family behind. He stood in such fear of being deprived of his liberty that he dare not visit his family except in disguise. During this time and up to 1776 he is believed to have taught a school in Newton. One of his children was born there in 1775. At the time the British officers suffered families to leave Boston for the country (on account of the scarcity of supplies) his family left with him for Cambridge, carrying with them such few articles of clothing as were permitted by the officers of the British troops.

May 17, 1775, when he left the town of Boston, the

town committee gave the annexed certificate, made necessary by the law against the entertainment of strangers without visible means of support.

"BOSTON, MAY 17th, 1775.

The Bearer, Mr. William Russell of Boston, and his Family, removing out of the Town of Boston, are recommended to the Charity and Assistance of our Benevolent Sympathizing Brethren, in the several Towns in the Province.

By Order of the Committee of Donations.

(5 in Family.) ALEX^{R} HODGDON, Clerk.

To the Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence in the several Towns in the Province of Massachusetts Bay."

The departure of the British troops from Boston is thus noted on the leaf of one of his manuscripts.

March 17th, 1776. George's Butchers left the Town of Boston, and went on board the Transports (after plundering the town). The same day they sailed below the Castle.

The question may arise in the minds of some at the present day whether these proceedings were not the outbreak of a lawless mob. To resolve this question aright we must understand the relations of the colonists to the mother country. They prided themselves upon their loyalty to Britain, and fully believed that under the law they were entitled to the same rights and immunities that were the pride and boast of the people of Great Britain; rights secured to them by "Magna Charta," and reiterated in their own colonial charter. These rights the colonists of Massachusetts Bay were determined to maintain; and when they petitioned the British Parliament for relief from some of the most unjust and arbitrary measures forced upon them, through the advice of those

who were seeking for the rewards of their own treachery, they were answered by still more arbitrary measures being enacted.

When the Ministry of Britain claimed as the prerogative of the king, the right to collect impost duties for the support and maintenance of the executive and judicial officers appointed by him, and to appoint commissioners of customs for the collection of the same, they to be backed up by British troops, then it was that the people of New England understood the issue that was presented to them.

Massachusetts had ever enjoyed the right to regulate her own taxes and determine the salaries of her officials, and as Pitt well said in the British House of Commons,

"The Commons of America represented in their several assemblies have ever been in possession of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it."

The people of America found that the Ministry were determined to try the issue, and to crush out the irrepressible love of liberty that was growing up with the people. The question for the people to settle was, were they to remain as freemen, or slaves. The test question was understood to be the *landing* of a few hundred chests of *tea*, and the collection of threepence a pound duty thereon. The people, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, determined that the tea should not be used until the obnoxious law was repealed. The Ministry had thrown down the "gage of battle" in the shape of a few hundred chests of tea; the people of Boston accepted the issue, and in defiance of the acts of Parliament, the tea was cast into the sea, and the people were ready to abide the result.

The prediction of Lord Camden was now about to be

fulfilled. "It was *now* a revolution." The people appealed to arms to maintain their liberties, and the spirit of Magna Charta was rewrought into the Declaration of Independence, and after a seven years' war, AMERICA was FREE.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, Mr. Russell returned with his family to Boston, where their furniture and effects had been left, to find that they had been plundered or destroyed by the British and their adherents.

1777. During the year 1776 a regiment of artillery consisting of ten companies for the defence of Boston was raised, to be under the command of Thomas Crafts, Esq., as Colonel, Paul Revere, Lieut. Col., and Thomas Melville, Major. William Russell entered the service in this regiment as Serg. Maj., and was afterwards Adjutant, serving in the campaign to Rhode Island.

(The Orderly Book of this regiment from June 8, 1777, to Nov. 10, 1778, is in my possession).

1779. In June of this year, he entered on board the privateer ship Jason, of Boston, John Manley, of Marblehead, commander, as captain's clerk, sailing on the 19th of June, 1779, on a cruise against the enemies of the United States of America.

On the 23d of June they chased and took two British privateer brigs, one of twenty, the other of twenty-two guns, and proceeded with them to Boston.

On the 30th of July the Jason sailed on her second cruise, and was captured by the British Frigate Surprise, of twenty-eight guns and two hundred and thirty men, on the 30th of September, 1779, and were carried into St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 6th of Nov., from whence they were transferred to Old Mill Prison, Plymouth, England, and committed on the 10th of Dec.,

1779, for PIRACY, HIGH TREASON, and REBELLION against his Majesty on the High Seas, where he remained a prisoner until June 24, 1782, a period of two years, six months and five days.

During the whole period of his imprisonment he taught school, in which he successfully taught the young American prisoners, and thus laid the foundation for their future usefulness.

He was again under the necessity of trying his fortune at sea, and was again taken prisoner and confined on board the Jersey prison ship in New York harbor.

He was granted a parole by Admiral Digby for the term of three months to go to Rhode Island. Peace being declared before the expiration of his parole, he returned home to his family in Cambridge.

His health was now daily failing, and on the 7th of March, 1784, he departed this life, aged thirty-five years, two months, fourteen days. He died of consumption brought upon him by the sufferings and privations he had passed through in the support and for the establishment of AMERICAN LIBERTY.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

Elm Street Burial-ground.

ABBOT, BENJAMIN, Sr., died, Boston. Oct. 24, 1844, aged 77.
" MARCY, wife of Benjamin. Mar. 16, 1802, aged 32. Erected by Benjamin Abbot, of Boston.

ADAMS, WILLIAM. May 13, 1837, aged 25 yrs., 2 m.

ALLEN, AMBROSE, tomb. 1843.

ANDERTON, JOHN, lost at sea. Oct. 25, 1845, aged 25.

ANDREWS, RUTHY, wife of Benjamin. May 4, 1812, aged 33 y., 9 m., 4 d.
" BENJAMIN, son of Benjamin and Ruthy. Dec. 23, 1803, aged 1 y., 1 m., 22 d.
" WILLIAM, son of Benjamin and Ruthy. Jan. 23, 1812, aged 1 y., 3 m., 15 d.
" JOHN, son of Benjamin and Mary L. Sept. 6, 1814, aged 10 m.
" ELEANOR. Aug. 20, 1819, aged 80 y., 10 m., 7 d.

APPLETON, THOMAS, tomb. 1843.

BALLARD, ELISHA. Feb. 7, 1838, aged 28 y., 8 m.
" SUSAN, wife of Daniel. Sept. 3, 1850, aged 33.
" SAMUEL H., son of Daniel and Susan. Mar. 30, 1842, aged 10 m.
" MEHITABLE, dau. " " " " Aug. 31, 1843, aged 5 m.
" P. J., tomb. 1853.

BARKER, JOSEPH, tomb. 1804.

BARTLETT, MEHITABLE, wife of Thomas. Apr. 24, 1809, aged 44 y., 5 d.
" WILLIAM. Feb. 10, 1823, 82d y.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of William. Oct. 11, 1824, aged 76.
" WILLIAM, Jr. June 19, 1813, aged 31.

BARTLETT, JOHN. Feb. 6, 1839, aged 55 y., 4 m.
" ANN, tomb. 1843.
" JANE, " 1846.
" —— " 1849.
" REBECCA, wife of Simeon H. June 21, 1850, aged 25.
" ELI V. and brothers, tomb. 1853.
" ABNER H. Oct. 17, 1855, aged 19 y., 4 m.
" GEORGE P. July 31, 1860, aged 26 y., 11 m., 7 d.
" NATHANIEL. Jan. 4, 1863, aged 75 y., 6 m., 17 d.

BASSETT, ELIZABETH, wife of John. June 18, 1836, aged 45.
" S. P., tomb. 1842.
" MATTHEW. Feb. 2, 1854, aged 39 y., 8 m.
" PHILIP P. M., son of Matthew. Jan. 10, 1851, aged 3 y., 10 m.
" SAMUEL H. R., " " " June 10, 1851, aged 8 y., 5 m., 6 d.
" SAMUEL, son of Matthew. Sept. 10, 1854, aged 1 y., 7 m.

BATEMAN, PETER. July 20, 1858, aged 49 y., 6 m., 25 d.
" PETER T., son of Peter. Apr. 29, 1838, aged 1 y., 11 m., 22 d.
" SAMUEL S., " " " May 21, 1844, aged 1 y., 11 m., 10 d.

BEAN, WILLIAM. Nov. 14, 1829, aged 25.
" HANNAH, wife of William. Dec. 17, 1839, aged 30.
" WILLIAM, son of William and Hannah. July 1, 1847, aged 18.

BESSOM, PHILIP, lost at sea. Jan., 1824, aged 38 y., 2 m.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Philip. Nov. 12, 1860, aged 74 y., 8 d.
" RICHARD MARTIN, son of Philip and Elizabeth. Nov. 22, 1832, aged 9 y., 6 m.
" Capt. PHILIP, tomb. 1825.
" WILLIAM H. Feb. 7, 1836, aged 57.
" ANNA, wife of William H. Oct. 26, 1850, aged 74.
" SARAH A. May 21, 1852, aged 23.
" EMMA L., dau. of Joseph H. and Hattie L. Feb. 8, 1866, aged 2 y., 6 m.

BICKNELL, OLIVE VINCENT, wife of Simeon and dau. of David and Esther Morse, of Chateauqua, N. Y. Mar. 16, 1824, aged 25.

BLANCHARD, JESSE. Nov. 25, 1830, aged 60.
" SARAH, wife of Jesse. Nov. 1, 1822, aged 49.
" ISAAC, son of Jesse and Sarah. Sept. 17, 1800, aged 1 y., 2 m., 21 d.
" HANNAH, dau. of Jesse and Sarah. June 26, 1805, aged 3 y., 11 m.
" JOSEPH, son of " " " Aug. 25, 1811, aged 1 y., 10 m., 2 d.

BLANCHARD, WILLIAM R., son of Jesse and Sarah. Sept. 17, 1820, aged 8 y., 7 m., 6 d.
" SARAH B. Aug. 29, 1868, aged 62.
BLANEY, ASA, tomb. 1826.
BOARDMAN, THOMAS, tomb. 1826.
BOND, JOHN, tomb 1848.
BOWDEN, JOSHUA ORNE, tomb. 1838.
" JOSEPH. May 16, 1859, aged 80.
" RUTH, wife of Joseph. July 29, 1849, aged 76 y., 10 m.
" PRISCILLA, dau. of Joseph. Apr. 20, 1854, aged 50.
" Miss RUTH. May 26, 1857, aged 56.
BOWEN, ELIZABETH. Dec. 2, 1860, aged 82 y., 9 m., 16 d.
BOWLER, MARY, dau. of James and Elizabeth. Feb. 28, 1806, aged 3 y., 5 m., 16 d.
" LYDIA, dau. of James and Elizabeth. Feb. 10, 1825, aged 28.
" JAMES, tomb. 1830.
BRAGDON, CHARLES P., son of John T. and Julia A. Oct. 2, 1842, aged 5 m., 8 d.
" FREDERICK W., son of " " " " " Sept. 4, 1849, aged 4 y., 8 m.
" WILLIAM A., son of John T. and Julia A. Sept. 12, 1849, aged 2 y., 6 m.
" WILLIAM F., son of " " " " " July 23, 1853, aged 2 y., 5 m.
BRAY, SALLY. Aug. 6, 1859, aged 73.
BRIDGE, ELLIOT, wid. of Joseph of Lexington. Oct. 14, 1807, aged 70 (stone between Sarah and Sarah B. Blanchard).
BRIGGS, Dr. C., tomb. 1841.
BRIMBLECOME, SEAWARD, eldest son of Seaward and Alice. Oct. 26, 1823, aged 85.
" MIRIAM, wife of Seaward and dau. of Richard and Jane Pedrick. Jan. 28, 1817, aged 75 y., 6 m.
" NATHANIEL, tomb. 1850.
BROWN, EDMUND. Aug. 10, 1823, aged 57 y., 8 m.
" LYDIA, wife of Edmund. July 13, 1828, aged 65.
" JONATHAN, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth. May 23, 1824, aged 12 y., 5 m.
" J. H., tomb. 1834.
" J., tomb. 1835.
" SAMUEL H., tomb. 1843.
" THOMAS, tomb. 1843.
BUBIER, JOHN, tomb. 1838.

[*To be continued.*]

ESSEX INSTITUTE

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VOLUME XII.

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1874.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XII. OCTOBER, 1874. No. 4.

THE THOMAS ALMANACS.

BY JAMES H. FITTS.

THE "Genealogical Register" for January, 1868, speaks of names which "arose from the mode of nomenclature by which the Christian name of the father becomes the surname of the son." The name Thomas, with five others from Wales, is cited in illustration.

Nathaniel Ingersol Bowditch, in "Suffolk Surnames," says, "Many *Christian* names appear among us as *surnames*." He includes the name Thomas in his list of one hundred and five examples.

There are two entirely different publications known as the Thomas Almanacs. One was published by Hon. Isaiah Thomas, LL. D., the most eminent publisher and journalist of his time. He is recognized as the "Father of American Printing," and justly celebrated as the "Patriot Printer."

Isaiah Thomas was born at Boston in 1749, and died at Worcester, April 4, 1831. It is exceedingly difficult

to fix the exact date of the first issue of his almanacs. They were commenced in the troublous times of the American revolution, which sorely interfered with the business of their author, and interrupted their issue. His well known patriotism made him obnoxious to the loyalists. He commenced business as a printer at Newburyport in 1767. In 1770 he moved to Boston, and commenced to publish the "Massachusetts Spy." In consequence of an article in his paper he was ordered in 1771 to appear before Gov. Thomas Hutchinson and Council, but refused. In 1773 he set up a press at Newburyport and started the "Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet." In 1774 he advertised "to carry on the Printing Business in all its branches, at his Printing Office near the Market, Boston." Here, probably, he printed his first almanac. But he was forced to leave Boston and removed to Worcester, April 17, 1775. Two days after he took an active part in the skirmish at Lexington. He issued the "Spy" from Worcester, May 3, 1775, which is still continued as a monument of his sagacity. Worcester is also honored in the American Antiquarian Society, founded by his munificence and incorporated Oct. 12, 1812.

The almanacs of Isaiah Thomas were not regularly and constantly numbered. Thus, in that of 1782, he says, "I here present you with my fifth Almanack." This would carry the first number back to 1778, and seems decisive. But then he calls the one for 1789 "my thirteenth Almanack," instead of twelfth as it should have been if that for 1782 was fifth. This error seems to be corrected in that for 1794 which is called "my seventeenth Almanack." But again he calls the one for 1800 "my twenty-fourth Almanack." Here the erroneous enumeration is resumed. So the matter of date is not settled at all.

Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, librarian of Harvard

College, in a newspaper article written many years ago, says, "These circumstances have rendered it somewhat uncertain what were the dates of the first five or six of Thomas's Almanacs. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that the following list will be found complete.

The first almanac bearing his name that I have seen is entitled, 'Thomas's New England Almanack, or the Massachusetts Calendar for 1775, Boston:' etc.

2. 'Thomas's Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut Almanack for 1779, Worcester:' etc.

3. Thomas's Almanack for 1780, with the same title as the last.

4. The same for 1781.

5. 'Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for the year of our Lord 1782, Worcester:' etc.

6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 for 1783, '84, '85, '86, '87 and '88 present little variation.

The twelfth for 1789 has the same title as the fifth. The almanac has now taken a fashion, which, with only slight variations, it continued ever afterwards to wear.[1]

[1] This was the first number fully illustrated. The central figure of the title-page is a divinity with compasses apportioning the globe. On one hand Father Time, a scythe in his right hand, an hour-glass in his left, and a ball under his left foot. On the other hand an astronomer gazing upon the heavens, his left hand pointing upwards, a pen in his right and a scroll near by. Mr. Thomas says, "The cuts on the Lunar pages are descriptive of the month they are in; also of the sign which enters the sun on that month." So for January we find the *Waterbearer*, a sleighing party, and a woman in furs. February, the *Fishes*, traveller on foot and fagot-gatherer. March, the *Ram*, a boy and a girl going to school. April, the *Bull*, a landscape and a lady with a linnet on her hand. May, the *Twins*, May-pole and fisherman. June, the *Crab*, a bather and flower-girl. July, the *Lion*, a ploughboy with oxen, dog and hoe, and a lady reading under a tree. August, the *Virgin*, a farmer ploughing, a woman carrying water, and another with her sun umbrella. September, the *Scales*, reapers,

In 1802 the name of Isaiah Thomas, Jr., first appeared as printer.

The almanac for 1803, being, according to my enumeration, the twenty-sixth, was also Isaiah Thomas's *last*.

The publication was continued by his son to 1810, and in 1811 it took the name of 'Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town and Country Almanack, or Complete Farmer's Calendar,' under which it was published by him till 1817, when William Manning became the publisher and continued it with the same title two years more. The year 1819 was probably the last of its appearance, as none of any later date are known to me."[2]

Thus it appears that Thomas's Almanac was published and circulated forty-two years [?], twenty-six by the father, thirteen by the son, and three years [?] by William Manning.[3]

So much concerning an almanac which for a score of years had no equal competitor, but which in 1793 and for nearly thirty years after, found a sturdy rival in the Old Farmer's Almanac.

This almanac was published by Robert Bailey Thomas, of West Boylston. Mr. Thomas furnishes some bio-

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mother and child. October, the *Scorpion*, a huntsman, and a lady on horseback. November, the *Archer*, a farmer with cattle, horse and swine, and a lady wrapped in her cloak. December, the *Goat*, skaters, and a lady in furs.

There is added a figure showing, as the author says, "the Anatomy of Man's Body as governed by the twelve Constellations." Also a diagram to illustrate "the Transit of Mercury over the Sun's Disk."

[2] To the above account by Dr. Harris, Samuel F. Haven of the Amer. Ant. Soc. adds the following, "The Almanac appeared in 1820 as issued by Geo. A. Trumbull."

I have a copy for 1822 by Trumbull.

[3] Isaiah Thomas, Jr., graduated at Harvard in 1825, married Mary Weld. Some account of William, the eighth of their eleven children, is given in Gen. Reg., 1872, p. 445.

graphical items relating to his family in his almanacs for 1833, '34, '35, '36, and '37. He says:[4] "My grandfather, William Thomas, was a native of Wales (Eng.), and born there of an opulent family, and received a liberal education at Christ's College, Cambridge. It seems he emigrated to this country somewhere about the year 1718. Tradition says he, with other brothers, came first to Stonington, Conn.; of this I shall not undertake to say. It is well known that he came to Marlborough, Mass., sometime about the year 1720, and married Lydia Eager, a daughter of a respectable farmer of Shrewsbury, and resided in Marlborough until he died in 1733, two years after which my grandmother died. He had two sons and four daughters.

My father, William, was the eldest son, who was born in Marlborough, March, 1725.[5] He, losing his parents at so tender an age, had but a very imperfect recollection of them. After his mother's death he went to Shrewsbury to live with his grandmother Eager; where, and at Jonas Morse's, of Marlborough, he resided some years. He attended the town school in the winter the limited time it kept. Being of a studious turn of mind, and fond

[4] Mr. T. gives the following reason for this biography: "It is not unfrequently observed to the Editor, by persons residing in neighboring states or remote from his residence, that they supposed him long since numbered with the dead; and that the Farmer's Almanack was calculated and edited by a connection of the former editor. To satisfy such, and conceiving it may afford amusement to our patrons generally, I have concluded, if my life and health should be continued, in our next to give a concise memoir of myself and ancestors."—*Almanac*, 1832.

[5] The children of William and Lydia (Eager) Thomas were: Levina, b. Aug. 15, 1721, m., 1744, Benj. Bigelow; Sophia, b. July 28, 1723; William, b. Mar. 10, 1725; Lydia, b. Sept. 30, 1727; Mary, b. Feb. 16, 1729, m. 1746, Joseph Morse; Ovardo, b. May 7, 1731. See *Hist. of Marlboro*, by *Hon. Charles Hudson.*

of reading, he purchased many books, and soon became quite a scholar for those days. In the year 1744 he commenced school keeping in Brookfield, at the age of nineteen years, which he followed winters, more or less, for upward of forty years. The same year, commenced in Hardwick, being the first schoolmaster in that town.

In April, 1747, he left this country for England, to obtain a patrimony justly belonging to his father in Wales, and on the 8th of May, in going north about, was taken by a French privateer out of Dunkirk, and stripped of all. Afterwards was ransomed, and arrived at Boston in October. In August, 1749, he made another voyage to London, where he stayed some time, and visited Wales, with the expectation of obtaining his right of inheritance, but was unsuccessful, on account of the lapse of time since my grandfather left Wales.

It would be difficult, not to say impossible, to follow step by step his various avocations and employments for a period of fourteen years. I would merely remark, in this time he received a lieutenant's commission in the army; not pleased with a soldier's life, he left the army, and followed his former avocation at intervals, of school keeping, and as an assistant in a store, and finally went into a small way of trade himself, until the year 1764, when he bought a small farm situated in the north parish in Shrewsbury. In 1765 he married Azubah Goodale, daughter of Joseph Goodale, a respectable farmer of the town of Grafton; at whose house the subject of these memoirs was born, April 24th, 1766."

The Thomas farm was pleasantly situated between the Quinnepoxet and Stillwater streams, near where they unite to form the south branch of the Nashua river. The district was locally known as "Shrewsbury Leg." It belonged to Marlborough from May 31, 1666 to Dec. 19,

1727, when it was incorporated as Shrewsbury. It remained Shrewsbury from 1727 to 1742. It was Shrewsbury North Parish from 1742 to Feb., 1768; Lancaster, Second, or West Parish from 1768 to April 25, 1781; Sterling from 1781 to June 13, 1796; Second Precinct of Boylston, Sterling, and Holden from 1796 to Jan. 30, 1808. Since 1808 it has been West Boylston. The present post-office address and railroad station is Oakdale. Mr. Thomas says, "It is rather paradoxical, but no less a fact, that I have resided in four incorporated towns and two distinct parishes, and one precinct, yet never moved from the same farm."

The father, William Thomas, buried his first wife in 1781. She was naturally of a feeble constitution, and died of apoplexy at the age of forty-three years. In 1782 he married Miss Esther Whitney, who survived him and died in 1831, aged eighty-eight. She had no children. He died in 1810, aged eighty-five years. Benjamin F. Keyes, in his "Genealogical Register of West Boylston," says of Mr. William Thomas: "He possessed a peculiar relish for literature and science, and devoted much time to reading and study, thereby becoming intelligent and interesting to those with whom he associated. He had also a peculiar taste for astronomical research and calculation, his bias and genius being strongly fixed in that direction."

Robert B. Thomas says, "I had one brother only, born June, 1768, named Aaron. We were the only children my father ever had. In our youth we were brought up to farming. Our father, who was thought to be quite a scholar for those days, instructed us at home, and sent us to the winter school. I had, when a boy, more of a mechanical than a literary turn of mind, though my father never indulged me much in it, wishing rather, as he said,

to make me a scholar, giving me the offer of a liberal education, which I foolishly declined. . . . In the winter of 1783–4 my father sent me to Spencer, with Major E. Beaman's two sons, to improve my hand in penmanship (which he was very fond of), with Dr. T. Allen,[6] who, at that time, wrote the most superior and beautiful copy hand of any person in the country. I boarded with him at Mr. J. Stebbing's; and when his term was out, I followed him to Sterling, and continued with him till April, and much improved my handwriting. The succeeding winter, I was agreeably and closely occupied in the study of arithmetic under my father's inspection, who was well versed in this science, but had never before allowed me to pay it any attention, saying he could 'learn me figures at any time.'

My father was a great reader, and possessed a larger miscellaneous library than was generally to be met with in a country town; of consequence, I spent most of my leisure hours in reading. Among many scientific works, no one engrossed more of my attention than Ferguson's astronomy, from which I derived much pleasure and satisfaction, from the plain and familiar manner in which he treated the subject; and from the pleasing study of this work I first imbibed the idea of calculating an almanack. Previously, I had made a number of calculations of new and full moon, and taken out the elements, and projected several eclipses, but found it impracticable to make all the necessary calculations for an almanack.

In 1786, I had an application to keep school in my native town, in the Fairbank district, so called. I kept

[6] Dr. Israel Allen was a practising physician at Sterling from 1786 to his death in 1817, at the age of sixty years. He was justice of the peace from 1803 to 1817. He was the author of an interesting pamphlet of sixty pages on the Canker Rash, *Scarlatina anginosa*.

out the town's money, satisfactorily, I believe, and engaged to keep three or four weeks more, by subscription." Here Mr. Thomas describes quite minutely his seven years career as teacher in winter, farmer in summer, and student meanwhiles. He notes nine schools in Princeton, Sterling and West Boylston. Under date of 1792 he writes:—"After finishing my school, I returned to my father's sometime in April, with a full determination never to resume it again. The business never was very congenial to my feelings; I had pursued it for want of some better employment."

The narrative continues, "In April, 1789, I returned to my father's, and pursued my favorite study of astronomy, occasionally laboring on the farm, and busying myself with book-binding, which business I had been partially fond of for years, binding up manuscripts and account books, and repairing other old books, for my neighbors. I found, with all my reading, the want of a practical knowledge of the calculations of an Almanack, which I could not obtain by reading—this was my *hobby*. In September I made a journey into Vermont, to see the then famous Dr. S. Sternes, who for many years calculated Isaiah Thomas' 'Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont Almanack,' but failed of seeing him.[7] . . . .

In the course of the season 1790, I agreed with N. Coverly, a printer in Boston,[8] to print for me 1,000 of

[7] Samuel Stearns was a wandering philosopher sometimes employed by Isaiah Thomas. He published several works. In one of them, called "The American Oracle," he styles himself, "The Honorable Samuel Stearns, LL. D. and Doctor of Physic, Astronomer to His Majesty's Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick; also to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the State of Vermont in America. London: 1791."

[8] Nathaniel Coverly published many works in Milk Street, Boston, to as late as 1823.

Perry's Spelling Book (being used exclusively in this section of the state) which I bound up, and other school books, and commenced Bookseller. There being but few books in the country, I found a good sale, to the storekeepers, schoolmasters, &c. Sometime in the fall, I called on Mr. Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester (no relation of mine, as I know of), to purchase 100 of his Almanacks in sheets, but he refused to let me have them, saying he did not sell in sheets only to those *of the trade*. I confess I was mortified, and came home with a determination to have an Almanack of my own. I very well knew that there were many things in his that were not generally approved of, and which I knew I could remedy. . . . .

I had now [April, 1792] made up my mind to follow the book-binding business, there being a call from Boston and other places at this time for binding. My brother, whose health was not good, concluded to go into business with me. We contracted with a carpenter to build us a bindery and store adjoining, in the course of the following summer, near my father's; prior to which we had carried it on in a chamber in our father's dwelling-house.[9] Still, I could not relinquish the idea of publishing an *Almanack* of my own. The last of June or the first of July, 1792, I went to Boston and agreed with Osgood Carleton, then a teacher of mathematics in Boston,[10] to

[9] Mr. Thomas' dwelling and bindery were near the Oakdale railroad station. The bindery has been removed. The dwelling is now, 1874, occupied by Mr. Charles Harris.

[10] "An Astronomical Diary: or an Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1790. By Osgood Carleton, Teacher of Mathematicks, in Boston. Printed and sold by Samuel Hall, in Cornhill, Boston." Previous Almanacs had "appeared under a fictitious name." "The rapid sale of my former calculations, together with the general approbation of the purchasers, has induced me to lay aside obscure signatures, and to subscribe myself,

The Public's most obedient humble servant,

Boston, May 1, 1789. OSGOOD CARLETON."

instruct me in astronomy, so far as related to the practical part of calculating an almanack; which he readily consented to do for a stipulated consideration. I continued at Mr. Carleton's school, kept in an unfinished building in Merchant's Row, till the latter part of August, and made all the calculations for an Almanack for the year 1793, being my first number. Before I left town I disposed of my copy to two young printers, long since deceased—Joseph Belknap and Thomas Hall—for a certain percentage on all those that should be sold; which, with a very trifling exception, has continued ever since, though the copy-right has been repeatedly transferred."

Robert B. Thomas sent out his first almanac with a "Preface" to the "Friendly Reader." The following is quoted from it. "Having, for several years past, paid some attention to that divine science, *Astronomy*, the study of which must afford infinite pleasure and satisfaction to every contemplative mind, it is this, with the repeated solicitations of my friends, that have [has?] induced me to present you with these Astronomical Calculations for the year 1793; which I have thought proper to entitle the *Farmer's Almanac*, as I have made it my principal aim to make it as useful as possible to that class of people." The title-page more in full was: "The Farmer's Almanac, calculated on a new and improved plan, for the Year of our Lord 1793; By Robert B. Thomas. Published according to Act of Congress. Printed at the Apollo Press, in Boston, by Belknap and Hall; Sold at their Office, State Street; also by the Author and M. Smith, Sterling."[11]

The almanac has been published at Boston from the

[11] The store of Moses Smith, the town clerk of Sterling, was burnt with all its contents, Sept. 27, 1794; among which were all the public records of the town, from its first organization as a Parish.

first. In 1793 by Belknap & Hall; 1796, Joseph Belknap; 1797, John West; 1809, John West & Co.; 1813, West & Richardson; 1819, West, Richardson & Lord; 1821, Richardson & Lord; 1830, Richardson, Lord & Holbrook; 1823, Carter, Hendee & Co.; 1837, Charles J. Hendee; 1839, G. W. Palmer & Co.; 1840, Jenks & Palmer; 1848, Jenks, Palmer & Co.; 1852, Jenks, Hinkling & Swan; 1856, Hinkling, Swan & Brown; 1858, Hinkling, Swan & Brewer; 1861, Swan, Brewer, & Tileston; 1864, Brewer & Tileston.

Every copy of the Farmer's Almanac has had a stanza of poetry on the title-page, except for the years 1808 and 1813, when a single quotation from Ferguson takes its place. The calendar pages, from the first, have been headed by verses. The first number of the almanac had neither illustrations nor diagrams. The second number, 1794, had its title-page illustrated with a rural scene. In the foreground there is a farmer with a yoke of oxen ploughing. In the background there stands a farmhouse surrounded with orcharding. The embellishments are a globe marked by meridians, a parchment roll, scythes, sickle, wreaths and horns of plenty. This number also contains diagrams to illustrate two eclipses of the moon.

In 1797 the illustration on the title-page changes. A country prospect still. The central figure is Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, reclining on a bank of poppies beneath an oak, her temples crowned with a garland of corn. At her left lie scythe, sickle, hoe, pickaxe, shovel. Her right hand points out the landscape — a farmer ploughing, farmhouses, out-buildings, fences, cart, trees and hills in the distance.

In 1800 the calendar pages appear illustrated for the first time. January; boys skating and whipping top on the ice, dwelling house and forest in the background.

February; farmer at his barn, oxen and plough at rest. March; boys with satchels on their way to school, houses and woods in the distance. April; husbandman sowing grain, orchard, pasture. May; fisherman trawling for pickerel. June; shepherd, dog and flock reclining in the shade. July; haymakers and load of hay drawn by oxen. August; traveller with staff, bundle and dog, approaching an inn. September; harvesters reaping and carrying grain; the next year the grain is loaded. October; sportsmen, one sitting on the ground, another on a stump with a gun and pointing to the woods. November; drover and his herd. December; fagot-gatherer and greyhound approaching a house.

In 1804 the illustrations for the calendar pages were changed to the twelve figured signs of the zodiac. January; *Aquarius*. The water-bearer, beautiful Ganymede, cup-bearer to the gods in place of Hebe, is seated, not upon a flying eagle, but on the banks of the Nile, emptying his pitcher into the stream; Mt. Ida, a temple and rays of setting sun in the horizon. February; *Pisces*. Venus, who sprung from the sea, and Cupid, her son, frightened by the malignant Typhon, on the banks of the Euphrates, were changed into fishes. Tied to the extremities of a long, undulating ribbon, they lie exposed on the frozen banks of the stream, surrounded with a wintry landscape, a man with horse and sled in the distance, rays of the sun in the horizon. March; *Aries*. This celebrated ram bore on his back Phryxus and his sister Helle, from the inveterate fury of their step-mother, Ino. As if wearied by his swift aerial flight, he now reposes on the malarial heights of Colchis. Above him spreads the tree, at whose trunk stands the stony altar of Mars, on which his body is to be offered, and in whose branches his coveted golden fleece is to be suspended and guarded

by the dragon till seized away by Jason and the brave Argonauts. April; *Taurus.* Not rampant but contemplative now, for Jupiter is love-sick. The father of gods assumes the form of a snow-white bull, that he may mingle with the herds of Agenor in the meadows where his daughter, the beautiful Europa, with her handmaids, gathers flowers, till she shall venture, first to caress, then to mount upon his back, when he will precipitately bear her over the sea, to his home in Crete. May; *Gemini.* Castor and Pollux, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, are now spruce young gentlemen, not sitting down, but on their legs walking arm-in-arm. They have finished their education at the college of Pallena on their right, and the temple of Minerva on their left; they have won enduring fame by prowess in the Argonautic expedition and in clearing the Hellespont from pirates. Henceforth, wearing shield, broad-brimmed hat and glittering star, gods of boxing and wrestling and patrons of sailors and navigation. June; *Cancer.* Infelicitous sea-crab! While Hercules strove with the Lernæan hydra, Juno, queen of heaven, envious of his fame, sent a crab to bite and annoy the hero's feet. But the crab was soon despatched. In the picture, not even Juno's powerful patronage, whose temple and grove appear in the background, is able to shield the unhappy crustacean from the scorching plagues of heaven. July; *Leo.* The furious lion still ranging at will over burning plains, and ravaging the Lernæan forest, awaits the massive club and hand-to-hand death-grapple of the youthful, wrathful Hercules. August; *Virgo.* The Virgin Astræa, as goddess of plenty, holds a sickle in her right hand, and in her left a sheaf of ripened grain. Her tresses are bound with a wreath, and one snowy foot protrudes from beneath the folds of her ample dress as she reclines on the fruitful earth. She is

adored in Egypt as Isis, who, fleeing from Typhon, who had basely murdered Osiris, his brother and her husband, dropped her sheaf, scattering ears of corn over the earth, and whose abundant tears, in view of her great loss, causes the annual overflow of the Nile. September; *Libra.* Astræa is the goddess of justice, and her appropriate emblems are a sword in her right hand and a balance in her left. During the golden age of the world, she dwelt on earth. Prosperity and happiness reigned among men, with equal days and nights. But wickedness and impiety came in with the brazen and iron ages. She lingered last of the gods, but at length flew away to Elysium. Now her scales, unpoised and neglected, lie on the ground beside the tree of knowledge. October; *Scorpio.* Sign by ancient astrologers accursed. Orion had vainly boasted there was no animal he could not conquer. But imperious Juno commanded the scorpion to spring out of the earth and sting the giant; of which venomous wound he died in excruciating pain. Mars, god of war, is tutelar deity of the scorpion. Together, malignant god and baleful sign render ill-starred October prolific in disorders, disease and death. November; *Sagittarius.* Fabulous monster, half man, half horse. The archer Chiron, chiefest of Thessalian horsemen, stands forth proudly mounted, with quiver, bow bent and arrow fixed. He was famous in knowledge of music, medicine and shooting. He instructed in the polite arts the greatest heroes of his time, Apollo, Achilles, Hercules, Jason, Æsculapius, Æneas. December; *Capricornus.* The goat was sacrificed to Bacchus on account of its propensity to destroy the vine. No danger here in these barren, rocky, wintry latitudes. A miniature companion is perched on a rock pinnacle in the distance.

The almanac for 1806 has diagrams to illustrate "a very

remarkable eclipse of the Sun." In 1809 the illustrations for title and calendar pages are changed somewhat.

The title-page has Father Time, with wings, scythe and overturning urn, seated beneath a tree. The designs for the calendar pages are less embellished now, and there are other changes beside. *Aquarius* has older grown, and, reclining, rests his bald head on his right arm. The *Fishes* are altered from respectable "cod" to detestable "devil-fish." *Aries* is turned about to face the right. *Taurus* has lain down to rest. The *Twins* are seated now, with spears in hand and halo overhead. *Cancer* no longer skulks in the bushes, but sprawls magnificently. *Leo* crouches for a spring. *Virgo* has changed her style of dressing the hair, and faced the right. The *Scales* are poised, justice shall be done. *Scorpio* has changed front. The *Archer* has got his horse into a run. The *Goat* stands facing the left.

The Almanac for 1830 contains a map of Massachusetts. That for 1831 a diagram to show an eclipse of the sun; 1832, a map of New England. In 1834, beside a diagram of the sun's eclipse, we have a supplement of ten pages and twelve illustrations of intemperance. We read in 1837, "In justice to myself I ought to state that my likeness is inserted in this number of the Almanack at the special desire of my publishers." The picture appears again in 1838, with a diagram of the moon's eclipse. The author's autograph appears for the first time in 1842; again in 1848, and onward.

The almanac for 1853 presents further alterations in title and calendar pages.[12] Father Time has a more youth-

[12] "For about forty years past, we have used upon our Title-page and Calendar pages, wood-cuts or engravings done when the art of engraving was not as advanced as now; but as time, the press, and constant use have worn down the surface of the cuts, we intend,

ful appearance. He sits more erect, is less bald, his beard has grown, and he has shouldered his scythe, which before lay at his feet. A winged hourglass stands beside him. *Aquarius*, too, has improved in hair and beard, but his urn is exchanged for a discharging street sewer. The *Fishes* present a more *outré* look than ever. *Aries* lies more contentedly. But *Taurus*, enraged, stalks the field. Juvenescent *Pollux* has adolescent, thoughtful grown. *Cancer* is developed to a more modern type. *Leo* crouches to the right as before to the left. *Virgo* has resumed her wreath and matronly appearance. The *Scales* are seen in the hand which supports them. *Scorpio* remains still a species puzzling to Essex County *amateurs*. The *Archer* has assumed a flowing mantle. The *Goat* now faces to the right again. These changes have produced the figures now grown familiar to the eyes of this generation.

The following is quoted from the first address to the "Friendly Reader," 1793. "The arrangement of this almanac is novel, though I have the vanity to believe it will be found to be as useful and convenient as any other almanac either of a double or single calendar."

Isaiah Thomas in 1794, the year following R. B. Thomas' first issue, thus addressed "Kind Reader:" "As a circumstance in favour of the contents of my former Almanacks, a new author has not only endeavored to copy our shape, in size and arrangement, but has given copious extracts in his work from those which I have

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in our next number, to insert new and better engravings of the same subject, which we hope will please all."—*Almanac*, 1852.

"Our appearance somewhat changed by new engravings . . . . . Father Time burnished up and improved in his outward adornings. . . . . signs of the constellations a little more artistic."—*Almanac*, 1853.

published for several years past, and which you will easily perceive by comparing his last year's Almanack with some of my old ones."

To this accusation R. B. Thomas replies in a postscript to his second preface, 1794. "*A selfish* editor, who for a number of years past has published an almanack of the same size with this, and who appears to be very much chagrined at our success, has not only privately endeavoured to injure us, but in the most ungenerous manner publicly attacked our reputation, in his preface of the present year, by charging us with making copious extracts from his former almanacks. The falsity of this assertion will be obvious to every observer; our similarity to his is no greater than an almanack of one year must necessarily be to that of a former; and no greater than his own of each year is to that of the preceding. To the judgment of a candid public, and not to the caprice of an avaricious printer, we submit the merits or demerits of our little publication, and doubt not, as in the last year, of meeting with that success which we have endeavoured to merit.

It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the *puff* with which this mighty printer *introduces himself* to the public, in the present year's preface, his almanack will be found, to a nice observer, to be fraught with error and irregularity. In his astronomical calculations of the last year, there were no less than 56 real errors; it is also (as is that of the present year) destitute of every 'aspect,' although he has very modestly inserted the word *aspects* at the top of the columns where they *ought* to be. Two egregious errors were also made in the eclipses of the last year; one was inserted on a day in which there was none, and the other as a visible eclipse of the sun, when the greatest obscurity was before its rising.

His endeavor to cajole the public, by insinuating in his preface that he has given the value of two shillings and sixpence for the common price of an almanack, is conspicuously contemptible. It is well known that 48 pages of an almanac, be the matter what it may, has for many years sold for sixpence, and afforded a very handsome profit to the vender."

Isaiah Thomas replied in a second edition of his almanac for 1794. In 1795 R. B. Thomas continues his response to what he calls "an invidious criticism." "The readers of our last year's Almanack will recollect that we then mentioned an ungenerous attack upon its reputation by a certain self-important Printer; but we are happy to inform the friends of the *Farmer's Almanack*, that this attack was so far from effecting the intended purpose (injuring the sale) that we last year sold upwards of *nine thousand* of our Almanacks — being nearly three times the number of our first year's sale. This we conceive to be the most flattering proof of the approbation of the public we can possibly receive.

It is worthy of remark, that our *weak* antagonist was so much chagrined at our notice of his meanness, that he put himself to the trouble of reprinting *one page* of his Almanack (which he called a second edition) on purpose to answer us. The best reply that can be made to this *paragon of literature* will be to make one or two remarks on his ability to maintain the character for which he palms himself upon the public, *viz.*, literary rectitude. In his first line he says: 'the *dulcet* of Apollo is changed into a *squirter* of venom.' It is only necessary to remark here that there is scarcely a schoolboy who reads the above, but will know that the poor man does not understand even the rudiments of English grammar. He says, 'he has unfortunately by a random shot broken their gall-bladders.' This is certainly a delicate expression, be-

cause in the next line he very confidently says, he shall not wound the feelings of his readers by scurrility. The truth is, he is incapable of writing anything fit for public inspection; and therefore, *after picking up a few dirty expressions*, he *very consistently* says he will *avoid* scurrility."

Here the open controversy ended.

The success of R. B. Thomas' almanac has been remarkable. He says of his first number, 1793, "The very kind reception it met with from the indulgent public was very flattering and deserves my most grateful acknowledgment. The demand for it was greater than my most sanguine expectations could have suggested." Three thousand copies were sold. The second number, 1794, had an "extraordinary reception;" "sold upwards of nine thousand Almanacks." In 1796, Mr. Thomas says that "the yeomanry and others have given it decided pre-eminence over any other Almanack." In 1802 he declares it "generally acceptable throughout this, and in many parts of the other New England States." In 1803 it "has received liberal encouragement beyond the Editor's most sanguine expectations, and he believes unprecedented by any other Almanack ever published in the New England States." Following numbers speak of "continued favours. . . cordial reception. . . flattering encouragement. . . the extensive and increased patronage. . . generous support. . . liberal remuneration. . . distinguishing marks of approbation and acceptance," of "an indulgent public. . . many patrons. . . . numerous friends and correspondents." In 1853 the publishers say, "Except the Bible, we believe no work has been oftener consulted or is more read in our New-England than this." In 1863 "the sale of this almanac arose to 225,000 copies." In 1864 its editor "sifts the wheat from the chaff for the benefit of a million of readers."

Some trouble arose from this popularity. Other almanacs were started under similar names. There is no evidence that the "New England Farmer's Almanac" by Dudley Leavitt, 1798, Exeter and afterwards Concord, N. H., was started in opposition, or even rivalry. But soon the following among others appeared: The Yankee or Farmer's Almanack, by Thomas Spofford, Boston, 1817; The New England Farmer's Diary and Almanac, by Truman Abel, Windsor, Vt., 1818; The Maine Farmer's Almanac, by Daniel Robinson, Hallowell, 1819; The New England Farmer's Almanack, by Thomas Green Fessenden, Boston, 1828.

Mr. Thomas writes in 1820, "To show how well our little work has been appreciated by the public, we need no other evidence than to witness the many new publications of the kind annually springing up, whose Authors appear ambitious of a similarity to ours, by copying our *plan* and form, and some have assumed our title, which will make it necessary for our friends and patrons to enquire for the 'Farmer's Almanack, by R. B. Thomas,' to prevent any mistake." In 1825 he "finds that others are copying our 'manner and form,' and even in more instances than one have usurped our title. . . . . We acknowledge that it is an animating reflection that the *old Farmer's Almanack* maintains the rank which it holds in the public's estimation, surrounded as it is by competitors and rivals of no mean fame."[13] This year and 1826, '28 and '31 Mr. Thomas calls his publication the "*Old* Farmer's Almanack." In 1832, '33, '34, '35, and from 1848 onward this name appears on the title-page.

How much of this popularity is to be attributed to his

[13] "The success our little work has been honored with has drawn forth a host of imitators in every part of the New England States." —*Almanac*, 1826.

weather predictions I do not know. Nathaniel Ames affirms in his Astronomical Diary for 1759, "Although a Perhaps, with justice, might always be added to what I say of the Weather, yet I have collected the best Rules that Experience has taught me in that Affair, from the Aspects, and Configurations of the Planets: I am therefore constantly obliged to trace the *rambling Moon* and *wandering Planets*, in all their intricate Paths, which costs me much Labour and hard Study." Isaiah Thomas writes in 1800, "I have omitted The Anatomy of Man's Body, as governed by the Twelve Constellations; that, and Weather Making, can be of use only to those who deal in the marvellous."

The Almanac of R. B. Thomas has been thought quite reliable in this department. It early acquired this reputation. We find the following remark in the first number, 1793. "As to my judgment of the weather I need say but little; for you will in one year's time, without any assistance of mine, very easily discover how near I have come to the truth." The next year, 1794, we read, "I have been much complimented on my judgment of the weather for the year past, but whether they were mere compliments or not, I leave the unprejudiced public to judge." Again, 1798, "the author tenders his most grateful acknowledgement to the public in general, for their profuse and repeated compliments on his judgment of the weather."

It seems to me there is a fund of sagacious waggery in these remarks concerning his weather probabilities. The same humor crops out in many of his replies to correspondents. But he is careful not to offend good taste in this matter. So in 1797 he apologizes for "his indulging the printer, who took the liberty to retrench several useful matters to make room for a 'Sermon in

favour of thieving,' and several ludicrous anecdotes, which were highly disgusting to many, and for which he himself asks forgiveness. . . In future he is determined to make all the arrangements himself, and with confidence assures his readers that whatever has a tendency to weaken the morals, or to crimson the cheek of modesty, will never find admittance in the Farmer's Almanack."

We cull a few samples of this Attic salt. He discourses thus in 1801. "Several favours received are deferred, for want of room; some, it is necessary to say, for want of merit." In 1802 we read, "The Editor's N—n friend is thanked for his kind intentions, but he conceives it to be a return of friendship to suppress the publication of his *Verses*, as he finds no friendship subsists between him and the Muses." In 1807, "P. is thanked for his good will, but his *Anecdote* is too obscene for admission." 1808, "Margaret Snufftaker's hints are unintelligible and futile." 1809, "We should have been better pleased with S. B's communications, if they had not been quite so stale." 1810, "E. W. and others will be kind enough to pay postage on answers to Riddles in future, or they will not be noticed. . . . Lines on inebriety have not sufficient spirit to preserve them even one year, nor correctness to entitle them to more than one perusal — the author has credit for one thing only, they are without a *name*." 1811, "Have no objection to G. S., of Boston, asking questions every day in the year, provided he pays the *postage*—he will find an answer to his queries, without a fee, at No. 75 Cornhill. . . . Suggestions of J. G. would place the Editor in the situation of the *man and the ass* in the fable." 1812, "E. F.'s *anecdote* is of the coarser kind, and not capable of being polished without injuring the pith. . . . J. D. might be better employed behind the counter than making riddles." 1815, "Z. H.'s Riddle

we think but ill agrees with *Johnson's* definition, viz.: 'anything puzzling; a dark problem.' . . . N. T.'s Riddle is found to labour under the same malady. . . . . C. E. has favoured us with some lines which he is pleased to call 'a Riddle'—we think 'an epitaph' would be equally as appropriate." 1817, "S. H. has a genius for figures, but wants cultivation. . . . S. F.'s Riddle will not answer our purpose for several reasons, one is its *obviousness;* others we forbear to give, as they might wound his feelings. We are sorry our friend should have such an itching for writing Riddles." 1818, "*Hydrometry narean's* Poetry is too much allied to his name to be useful to us. . . . We have received a large packet with Northfield postmark, purporting to be poetry, &c. The author may have it again by sending to the Editors." 1820, "H. R. S.'s anecdote smells too strong of the marvellous. It is better calculated for Sam Hyde's Register." 1821, "P. N. R.'s Picture, though of the doggerel species, is not a bad likeness. If he will take the trouble to point his lines and correct the orthography and favour us with a copy, it shall embellish our next No. . . . . B. E.'s *Acrostic* is destitute of rhyme or metre, two of the most essential parts in compositions of this kind." 1824, "B. B.'s Riddle we think is rather a dear one, containing only eight short lines, and to be taxed eighteen cents and a quarter postage!" 1826, "L. M.'s 'Jonathan's visit to a husking' is not sufficiently finished—his Pegasus seems more ready to amble and pace than trot—we advise him to transcribe it."

Another quotation from the Almanac for 1821 will close these selections. "It is painful at all times to reject the contributions of our Correspondents, but it is a duty we owe to ourselves and to our readers, not to admit half-finished, obsolete and hasty productions; we therefore

could wish they would revise their compositions before they send them to us; this would save us much trouble, and reflect greater credit on themselves."

Mr. Thomas himself prepared the matter for his popular manual for fifty-four years. A correspondent who is recognized only as "B. B." also furnished contributions from 1804 to about 1855, more than fifty years. These items were for the "Farmer's Calendar," which is claimed to be "a new feature, containing directions for young farmers and gardeners." In 1842 the editor entitles his preface, "Fifty Years Ago." He refers his friends and patrons to the great progress in government and science which the half century had witnessed. He says of himself and Almanac: "Though we have now accomplished what has seldom been done in this or any other country, as we believe, the getting up and publication, for half a century, of a manual, edited by the same person, even as unpretending as our modest and homely annual, we do not mean to rest here. Should we be spared, we shall go on, as we trust, to 'a good old age;' and though we may not reach the 100th number of the '*Old Farmer's Almanac*,' yet we shall endeavor to improve as we progress, and continue to unfold our yearly budget to our patrons as long as Providence permits,—hoping always to meet them with a smiling face, and that they will not be disposed to cut our acquaintance, as a modern dandy would a rusty cousin from the backwoods, because we look, as we pride ourselves in looking, a little old-fashioned, a little too independent to change our dress for each 'new-fangled' notion—a little 't'other side of fifty.'"

He closes thus, "Friends and Patrons! The form of the editor who has jogged along side by side with the older ones of you for fifty years, will, with many other forms now full of life and vigor, before another half-century be

crumbling in the dust! The world that now seems so joyous will ere that time have passed away from many millions now alive, it may be from the reader as well as from us. And if so, may we receive the reward of the pure in heart, may our sins be forgiven us, and may our virtues be held in fond remembrance by those who have best known us on earth—and may we pass to our final account as those

> . . . . 'who wrap the drapery of their couch
> About them, and lie down to pleasant dreams.'"

Between four and five years later Mr. Thomas died. We read in the almanac for 1847, "In presenting to our friends the *Fifty-fifth number of the Almanac*, our pleasure is saddened by deep and heartfelt regret at having to announce the death of the senior editor of the work whose name it bears. He died May 19th, 1846, aged 80, after a long and useful life, beloved and respected by all who knew him, in deed and in truth 'that noblest work of God, an honest man.' We feel that it is due to him, that this testimony to the purity of his character should be recorded here. He was a man of strong practical good sense, 'kind of heart and open of hand,' virtuous, upright, and scrupulously honorable in all his dealings."

Notwithstanding this explicit testimony, there is a vague impression quite prevalent, that Mr. Thomas is still living; or at least that he furnished calculations by means of which the almanac is continued. Possibly the business shrewdness of the proprietors has had its share in fostering this popular notion. They say, 1847, "Previous to Mr. T.'s death, arrangements were made with the Publishers of the Almanac for its continuance, and matter for succeeding numbers having been furnished us, it will be issued annually as heretofore." They speak, 1853, of "eclipses computed and calculations made to the end of the

century." Since 1848 quotations have been made from earlier almanacs and signed with the autograph of Robert B. Thomas. Correspondents were notified in 1864 that "communications should be addressed to the undersigned," and in 1862, '63, '65, '66, '67, '68 and '69, "should be directed to me, *care of the publishers.*

ROB^{T} B. THOMAS."

So much concerning the description and history of the Old Farmer's Almanac. Robert Bailey Thomas is best known throughout New England by his Almanac. But his life was lived and his best work done in the town of West Boylston, so long loved, served and honored by him. Mr. Keyes says, "He was a prominent man in the town; was the first Town Clerk after the incorporation of the town, several times chairman of the Board of Selectmen, represented the town in the State Convention of 1820 for revising the Constitution, and was several years a member of the State Legislature." Near the close of his life he devised liberal things for the Congregational Parish, on whose prominent committees he had frequently served. He gave funds to be laid out in a building for school and society purposes. The money was invested in the building now known as the Thomas Hall. His benevolence was known abroad. I have heard the following story. The Rev. Joseph Vaill, D. D., once solicited him for money for Amherst College, fixing the sum at one hundred dollars. He returned from his visit looking very sober. The Rev. Joseph W. Cross, the pastor of Mr. Thomas, asked if he had been refused. Dr. Vaill replied, "O no, I was thinking what a blunder I made in asking only one hundred dollars. If I had not been such a fool I might just as well have got two hundred dollars."

Mr. Thomas married Hannah Beaman, of Princeton,

who survived him and died in 1855, aged 81 years. They had no children. He took into his family David D. Prescott, when a lad, to whom he gave the old farm, and who still lives on the place. Mr. Thomas accumulated a large amount of property besides. He died intestate, leaving his estate to his widow and two children of his deceased brother, who were his only legal heirs.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1878.

Elm Street Burial-ground.

Continued from page 242.

BUTMAN, JOSEPH. Oct. 10, 1871, aged 71.
" MARTHA, wife of Joseph. Jan 15, 1835, aged 44.

CANDLER, JOHN, Jr., tomb. 1838.
CASS, J., tomb. 1828.
CASWELL, SARAH. July 30, 1821, aged 67.
" WILLIAM. May 25, 1825, aged 64 y., 6 m.
" HANNAH A., wife of William. July 4, 1849, aged 82 y., 8 m.
" RICHARD B. Feb. 20, 1837, aged 49 y., 6 m.
" WILLIAM, tomb. 1842.
" RICHARD, d. Newbern, N. C. Sept. 4, 1863, aged 45 y., 6 m.
" BENJAMIN F., son of Richard and Hannah. May 31, 1862, aged 12 y., 6 m.
CHAMBERLAIN, JASON, tomb. 1834.
CHAPMAN, STEPHEN. Apr. 15, 1839, aged 62 y., 3 m.
" JOANNA R., wife of Stephen. Apr. 27, 1846, aged 67 y., 2 m.
" J. and J., tomb. 1842.
" SAMUEL. Mar. 27, 1863, aged 30 y., 6 m., 17 d.
" ELLEN P., wife of Samuel. July 23, 1858, aged 21 y., 2 m., 22 d.
" MARY K., " " " Dec. 31, 1864, aged 40 y., 3 m.
" MARY ELLEN, dau. of Samuel and Mary K. Jan. 21, 1863, aged 4 m., 16 d.
CHASE, SARAH, wife of Daniel and dau. of John and Eleanor Michiel. June 10, 1831, aged 27 y., 2 m.
CHIN, SAMUEL. Feb. 27, 1826, aged 60.
CHURCH, JOSEPH, died Friday, June 14, 1799, aged 46.

CLARK, WILLIAM. Sept. 14, 1846, aged 47.
CLOON, WILLIAM F. and ANNIS, tomb. 1850.
CLOUTMAN, MEHITABLE, wife of Capt. Thomas. Nov. 16, 1831, aged 72 y.
" JOSEPH, b. Mar. 16, 1798, d. at sea May 10, 1821.
" THOMAS, b. Oct. 3, 1795, d. Apr. 15, 1836.
" JANE, b. Dec. 1, 1792, d. Aug. 13, 1872.
" JANE, dau. of Thos. and Jane, b. Sept., 1820, d. May 3, 1821.
" JOSEPH, son of " " " b. Feb. 20, 1829, d. Feb. 25, 1868.
" SARAH, dau. of " " " b. May 22, 1830, d. Mar. 17, 1869.
" THOMAS, son of " " " b. Oct. 26, 1831, d. July 22, 1834.
" MARY A., dau. of " " " b. Feb. 9, 1834, d. Oct. —, 1835.
" GEORGE, tomb. 1848.
" MARY B. Oct. 27, 1844, aged 73 y., 4 m.
" JACOB C., tomb. 1846.
" P. D., tomb. 1850.
COLE, Capt. WILLIAM. Aug. 12, 1808, aged 48 y., 1 m., 19 d.
COLLYER, MARY, wife of John. June 18, 1830, aged 30.
" ISAAC. Nov. 4, 1847, aged 67.
" MARY, wife of Isaac. Aug. 24, 1855, aged 81.
" WILLIAM. Jan. 30, 1849, aged 66 y., 8 m.
" MARGARET, wife of William. Dec. 30, 1845, aged 56 y., 2 m.
" JOHN. Sept. 20, 1852, aged 84.
" SARAH, wife of John. Mar. 20, 1844, aged 73.
" JOSEPH H., d. Camp Benton, Poolesville. Nov. 23, 1861, aged 45.
" SARAH ELIZABETH, dau. of Joseph H and Abigail Q. Sept. 19, 1848, aged 19 m.
" SARAH HOOPER, dau. of Joseph H. and Abigail Q., b. May 20, 1853, d. Jan. 13, 1856.
CONWAY, JOHN, tomb. 1829.
COOMBS, MICHAEL D., a native of Hamburg. July 9, 1850, aged 54. Erected by David S. Simpson.
CORNISH, BENJAMIN, tomb. 1845.
COWELL, ABIEL, tomb. 1837.
COX, HANNAH, wid. of James. Aug. 29, 1848, aged 59 y., 9 m.
CREESY, JOSIAH, tomb. 1834.
CROSS, JOHN, tomb. 1838.

DANA, Rev. SAMUEL, tomb. 1848.
DARLING, DAVID. Nov. 26, 1835, aged 28 y., 9 m.

DARLING, EZEKIEL. Mar. 28, 1865, aged 76.
DAVIS, JOB. Sept. 1, 1802, aged 53 y., 8 m.
" WILLIAM. Nov. 26, 1830, aged 60.
" HANNAH, wid. of William. Mar. 31, 1863, aged 92 y., 8 m., 26 d.
" THOMAS A. Dec. 18, 1850, aged 55 y., 2 m.
DENNIS, Mrs. HANNAH, tomb. 1842.
" SARAH A., dau. Humphrey and Margaret. Dec. 22, 1857, aged 12 y., 9 m.
" ELIZABETH A. B., dau. " " " Jan. 14, 1858, aged 2 y., 8 m.
DEVEREUX, BETSY HILL, wife of John and dau. of Henry Leach. Sept. 5, 1826, aged 48.
DOAK, MICHAEL. Jan. 9, 1836, aged 41.
" JOANNA, wid. of Michael. Nov. 25, 1857, aged 58.
" SARAH R. STORY, dau. of Michael and Joanna. July 12, 1834, aged 9.
" LYDIA C., dau. of Michael and Joanna. June 30, 1853, aged 21 y.
DODD, ANNA, wife of Benjamin and dau. of John and Grace Gibbins. Oct. 1, 1804, aged 42 y., 10 m.
" BENJAMIN, son of Benjamin and Anna. Oct. 25, 1803, aged 3 m.
DOLIBER, THOMAS. Jan. 10, 1798, aged 34.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Thomas. May 4, 1843, aged 76 y., 5 m.

EASTLAND, MARY ANN, wife of Edward T. Aug. 11, 1855, aged 36 y., 2 m., 20 d.

FADER, SARAH, wife of Frederick. May 18, 1851, aged 61.
FELTON, ELIZABETH C., wife of John A. Mar. 14, 1858, aged 59 y., 6 m.
" A. ADAMS, son of John A. and Elizabeth C. Mar., 1826, aged 10 m.
" JOHN A., son of, " " lost at sea, Nov., 1843, aged 20.
" WILLIAM H., son of " " drowned in Salem Harbor, Dec. 9, 1857, aged 28.
FISHER, JOHN, tomb. 1863.
FOLLET, T., tomb. 1842.
FOSS, SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Hannah P. Sept. 1, 1837, aged 2.
" WILLIAM, son of Samuel and Hannah P. Sept. 2, 1842, aged 4 m.

Foss, William, son of Samuel and Hannah P. Jan. 6, 1843, aged 5 m.
" Joseph, " " " " " Aug. 15, 1845, aged 6 m.
" Lydia, dau. " " " " " June 19, 1849, aged 4 m.
" Thomas, son " " " " " Jan. 13, 1851, aged 4 y.
Freeto, Francis, tomb. 1848.
" " member of Co. A, 1st Mass. H. A.; d. from wounds received in battle near Petersburg. June 17, 1864, aged 29.
" James. Sept. 20, 1853, aged 65.
Frost, Richard, tomb. 1850.

Gale, Thomas, tomb. 1846.
" Nancy, wife of Thomas. (On stone of Benjamin Abbot.) Dec 25, 1869, aged 81.
Gardner, Abel, tomb. 1843.
Gilley, Capt. John, tomb. Oct., 1823.
" John, tomb. 1843.
Girdler, L. R. J., tomb. 1833.
" John, tomb. 1840.
Glover, Hannah W., wife of Edmund. June 16, 1844, aged 24.
" Elizabeth, wife of Daniel. Apr. 22, 1845, aged 26.
" Betsy C., wife of John N. Aug. 27, 1853, aged 54.
" William. June 16, 1858, aged 34 y., 8 m.
" Samuel. Jan. 13, 1862, aged 85 y., 4 m.
" Elizabeth, wife of Samuel. Sept. 2, 1849, aged 63.
" Nathaniel, son of Samuel and Elizabeth, d. at sea. June 16, 1838, aged 17 y., 4 m.
" John, son of Samuel and Elizabeth, d. at sea. Sept. 19, 1846, aged 18 y., 8 m.
Goodwin, John, tomb. 1826.
" James, " 1838.
" Lieut. John, Jr., fell at battle at Roanoke Island. Feb. 8, 1862, aged 35 y., 8 m., 4 d.
" Georgey, son of Lieut. John, Jr. Mar. 5, 1861, aged 13 m.
" Samuel H., Serg't of Co. I, 19th Reg't Indiana Volunteers, wounded at Petersburg, Va., May 23, 1864, d. at Portsmouth Grove Hospital, R. I. Nov. 4, 1864, aged 40.
Gorden, Simon, lost at sea. Oct., 1847, aged 55.
" Susan, wife of Simon. Feb. 4, 1838, aged 41.
Goss, Mrs. Catherine. Jan. 1, 1822, aged 54.
Graves, Samuel, tomb. 1844.

GRAVES, J. B., Jr., tomb. 1853.
" A. E., tomb. 1857.
" MASON H., tomb.
GREEN, JOSEPH W., " 1834.
GREGORY, JOSEPH, " Nov. 15, 1824.
" SAMUEL B., " 1853.
GRIFFIN, DEBORAH, wife of Joseph. Jan. 3, 1805, aged 68 y., 6 m.
GRISTE, Capt. JOHN. Aug. 22, 1804, aged 49.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. John and dau. of Stephen and Elizabeth Phillips. Nov. 26, 1835, aged 78.

HAMMOND, WILLIAM, tomb. 1838.
HARRIS, MASON, 3d. Aug. 3, 1831, aged 51 y., 7 m.
" TAMSON, wife of Mason 3d. Apr. 20, 1846, aged 56.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Mason 3d and Tamson. June 22, 1809, aged 1 y., 9 m.
" THOMAS, son of Mason 3d and Tamson. Jan. 8, 1844, aged 19 y., 11 m.
" ROBERT. Dec. 3, 1832, aged 44.
" ELIZABETH, wife of Robert. June 3, 1842, aged 49.
" Dea. MASON. Oct. 2, 1833, aged 81.
" MARY, wife of Mason. Feb. 27, 1827, aged 87.
" GAMALIEL, tomb. 1838.
" EBENEZER R., tomb. 1846.
" EDWARD B., tomb. 1853.
HASKELL, JOANNA, wife of Capt. William. June 19, 1822, aged 26.
" WILLIAM T., tomb. 1852.
" Capt. THOMAS. Feb. 22, 1855, aged 87 y., 7 m., 10 d.
" MARY, wife of Capt. Thomas. Nov. 17, 1839, aged 70 y., 10 m.
HAWKES, WILLIAM, tomb. 1821.
HENDLEY, ELIAS. June 13, 1813, aged 34.
HINSMAN, MARY A., wife of William V. July 17, 1852, aged 29.
" SARAH JANE, adopted dau. of Benj. and Abby Wormsted. Nov. 12, 1861, aged 18 y., 2 m., 3 d.
HITER, FRANCIS, tomb. 1844; a native of Bilboa, Spain.
HOMAN, PHILIP C. Apr. 4, 1841, aged 28.
" LYDIA S., wife of Philip C. May 23, 1844, aged 26 y., 8 m.
" SARAH LYDIA, dau. of Philip C. and Lydia S. Aug. 11, 1833, aged 3.
HOOPER, GRACE, wife of Thomas. Aug. 12, 1810, aged 24 y., 7 m. 12 d.
" JOHN, tomb. 1848.
" J. G., tomb.
" JOSEPH. Oct. 20, 1844, aged 3.

HOOPER, JOHN P. Aug. 10, 1853, aged 17 y., 10 m.
" NATHANIEL. Sept. 8, 1865, aged 16 y., 2 m.
The last three on one stone.
" WILLIAM M. Dec. 20, 1865, aged 22 y., 2 d.
" ANNIE, dau. of William M. June 29, 1861, aged 3.
" MARTHA, dau of " Sept. 14, 1865, aged 2 y., 2 m.
" MARTHA } aged 3.
" HANNAH } inscribed on tomb.
HUMPHREY, JOHN. Aug. 18, 1801, aged 47.
" MARCY, wid. of John and dau. of Israel and Mary Patton. July 13, 1803, aged 35.
" LUCY B. GALLISON, wife of William. Aug. 1, 1843, aged 47 y., 10 m.
" SALLY. June 18, 1858, aged 65.
" HARRIET. Nov. 22, 1858, aged 61.
" AMOS, tomb. 1860.

INGALLS, SARAH, wife of John. June 14, 1806, aged 20.
" JOHN, tomb. 1858.
IRESON, JOHN D., " 1846.
IRISH, SARAH LASKEY, wife of Charles B. Apr. 26, 1831, aged 20 y., 1 m., 24 d.
" CHARLES SANFORD, son of Charles B. Oct. 10, 1830, aged 18 m.

JAYNE, JOHN. Nov. 3, 1813, aged 29.
JOHNSON, WILLIAM W., tomb. 1835.
" JOHN, tomb. 1835.

KENT, REBECCA, wife of James and twin sister to Mary T. Main. Nov. 8, 1863, aged 49.
KNAPP, SARAH, wid. of Peter. Aug. 1, 1857, aged 88 y., 11 m., 14 d.
KNIGHT, ROBERT W., b. Dec. 5, 1792, d. Oct. 7, 1814.
" ROBERT, tomb. 1837.
" GEORGE, " "
" HANNAH H., tomb. 1841.

LASKEY, REBECCA ANN, dau. of Philip and Rebecca. May 9, 1849, aged 19 y., 8 m.
LEACH, RICHARD, of Beverly. Feb. 25, 1801, aged 87.
" HENRY. July 1, 1805, aged 59.
" CATA, wife of Henry (on stone of Betsy H. Devereux). Mar. 6, 1828, aged 84.

LEACH, HANNAH, dau. of Henry and Cata, of small pox. Dec. 19, 1800, aged 11 y., 11 m., 17 d.
LECRAW, Capt. WILLIAM. Sept. 20, 1802, aged 66 y., 3 m., 25 d.
" JOHN. Sept. 18, 1818, aged 51.
" MICHAEL R. Oct. 30, 1839, aged 6.
" Capt. WILLIAM. June 29, 1840, aged 27.
" Capt. EBENEZER. May 31, 1845, aged 56.
" EBENEZER 2d, lost in the gale of Sept. 19, 1846, aged 30. The last four on one stone.
" DAVID R., tomb. 1852.
" DAVID R., son of David and Hannah R. May 10, 1855, aged 24 y., 7 m.
" WILLIAM L., son of " " " Sept. 18, 1855, aged 19.
" REBECCA R., dau. of David and Hannah R. Feb. 22, 1857, aged 15 y., 10 m.
" CHARLES H., son of " " " Sept. 21, 1864, aged 26 y., 3 m.
LEGRO, HANNAH, wife of William and dau. of Capt. John and Marcy Martin. Dec. 19, 1801, aged 23 y., 11 m., 19 d.
" WILLIAM, only son of Wm. and Hannah. May 7, 1802, aged 6 m., 6 d.
LINDSEY, N., tomb. 1837.
" HANNAH, wife of the late Benjamin. Feb. 9, 1861, aged 79.
" NATHANIEL, son of Benj. and Hannah. Oct. 6, 1866, aged 59 y., 9 m.
" MARY A., wife of Benjamin. May 10, 1867, aged 29.
" ARTHUR L., son of Benjamin and Mary A. Jan. 29, 1866, aged 6 m.

MADISON, ELIZABETH, wife of Andrew. July 1, 1827, aged 26 y., 5 m.
" REBECCA, dau. of Andrew and Elizabeth. Oct. 13, 1819, aged 13 m.
MAGOUN, ALBERT C. Oct. 21, 1856, aged 27.
MAIN, MARY T. (twin sister to Rebecca, wife of James Kent). Nov. 30, 1854, aged 40 y., 8 m.
" THOMAS and sons, tomb. 1856.
MANNING, SAMUEL and son, tomb. 1842.
MARTIN, EBENEZER. Jan 10, 1800, aged 59.
" ALMIRA M., dau. of Eben'r and Jane. Feb. 10, 1804, aged 15 m., 18 d.
" PRUDENCE. Nov. 10, 1806, aged 61.
" Capt. THOMAS. Dec. 16, 1828, aged 96 y., 10 m.
" MARTHA, wife of Capt. Thomas. Jan. 4, 1816, aged 78.

MARTIN, Capt. ARNOLD. Aug. 22, 1829, aged 63 y., 9 m., 29 d.
" MARY, wid. of Capt. Arnold. Mar. 21, 1838, aged 73 y., 5 m.
" OLIVER, son of Capt. Arnold and Mary. Sept. 24, 1816, aged 21 y., 2 m., 14 d.
" OLIVER THOMAS, son of Capt. Arnold and Mary. Mar. 25, 1829, aged 7 y., 6 m., 17 d.
" THOMAS. Jan. 29, 1833, aged 52.
" MARY, wife of Thomas. Sept. 1, 1831, aged 49.
" WILLIAM R. Feb. 13, 1833, aged 28.
" MARY ANN, wife of William R. Jan 1, 1832, aged 30.
" MARCY, wife of Knott (on stone of Benj. Abbot). Apr. 31, 1833, aged 83.
" RICHARD. July 25, 1833, aged 31.
" MARY, wid. of Richard. Sept. 1, 1839, aged 35.
" NATHAN B. Sept. 29, 1840, aged 78.
" ANNA S., wife of Nathan B. Oct. 14, 1834, aged 69.
" S., tomb. 1841.
" Capt. KNOTT, 2d. July 12, 1848, aged 64.
" HANNAH, wid. of Capt. Knott, 2d. Sept. 2, 1865, aged 83.
" JOSEPH, tomb. 1848.
" AMBROSE. July 16, 1851, aged 78 yrs., 4 m.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of Ambrose. June 24, 1857, aged 78 yrs., 5 m.
" JAMES LAWRENCE, son of Ambrose and Elizabeth. July 9, 1844, aged 31 yrs., 3 m.
" Capt. KNOTT, 2d. Oct. 18, 1855, aged 67 yrs., 9 m.
MASON, ANNA, wife of Joseph. Nov. 26, 1845, aged 74.
" GEORGE. Apr. 20, 1852, aged 39.
MCHENRY, EZEKIEL, adopted son of Ezekiel and Maria Darling. Nov. 23, 1859, aged 19.
MCLEOD, JOHN, born Scotland, 1789, died Aug. 24, 1857, aged 68 y., 5 m.
" MARY, wife of John. Sept. 22, 1868, aged 72.
" Miss LAURA, born Scotland, 1834, died Feb. 14, 1862, aged 28 y.
MERRITT, FRANCIS, at sea. Mar. 29, 1816, aged 52.
" MARY, wife of Francis. Dec. 25, 1837, aged 68.
" Mrs. MARY. May 4, 1805, 97th yr.
" JOHN, son of John and Elizabeth S. Apr. 25, 1839, aged 9 m., 12 d.
" THOMAS H., tomb. 1843.
MILLER, MARIA ANN, dau. of Edw'd E. and Maria. Aug. 28, 1853, aged 11 y., 8 m.

MILLET, ZEBULON. Aug. 14, 1828, aged 71.
" MARTHA, wife of Zebulon. Oct. 5, 1834, aged 77.
MORSE, LEVI. April 8, 1861, aged 73 y., 7 m., 7 d.
" MERCY C., wife of Levi. Feb. 12, 1853, aged 61.

NEWHALL, JOEL, tomb.
NICKERSON, JOHN G., son of Joshua and Sarah H. Aug. 28, 1853, aged 9 m., 7 d.
" RUTHY MAIN, wife of James. May 7, 1872, aged 79 y., 1 m., 8 d.
NICHOLSON T., tomb. 1835.

OLIVER, Miss MYRIAM. Jan. 18, 1838, aged 82.
" JAMES, tomb. 1843.
ORNE, AZOR, tomb. 1796.
OSGOOD, HOOKER, in memory of my uncle, who died 1818, and his wife
" NANCY, who died 1819. C. L. W. S.

PAIN, MARCY, wife of Thomas, and dau. of Benj. and Marcy Abbot. Feb. 15, 1831, aged 31.
" MARY E., wife of William B. Oct. 15, 1845, aged 29 y., 6 m.
PAINE, H., tomb. 1850.
" HENRY. Oct. 26, 1850, 69 y., 4 m., 28 d.
" DEBBY, wife of Henry. Sept. 3, 1836, aged 54.
PAPPOON, SOLOMON. Mar. 4, 1843, aged 60.
" MARY N., dau. of Solomon. June 21, 1845, aged 25.
PATTEN, MARY (our Mother), dau. of Capt. Edmund Bray, Mar. 15, 1866, aged 70.
PEACH, LOT. July 5, 1848, aged 66.
" RICHARD H., son of Lot and Bethiah. Dec. 20, 1817, aged 3 m., 7 d.
" ABEL G. " " " " " July 1, 1831, aged 6 m., 25 d.
" LOT, son of Lot and Bethiah, died Dec. 2, 1850, aged 35, at north fork of American river, Barnes' Bar, Cal. Erected by his son Stephen B. Peach.
PEIRCE, ANNA (mother to Elizabeth, wid. of John Stacey), Oct. 5, 1816, aged 94.
" ROBERT, tomb. 1846.
PHILLIPS, STEPHEN. Mar. 1, 1801, aged 83.
" Mrs. ELIZABETH. Sept. 30, 1805, aged 75.
" SARAH, dau. of Stephen and Elizabeth. July 10, 1833, aged 69.

PHILLIPS, NATHANIEL. Jan. 16, 1838, aged 77.
" ANNA, wife of Nath'l, and dau. of Robert Smith. Oct. 4, 1824, aged 62.
" LYDIA, dau. of Nath'l and Anna. Feb. 12, 1814, aged 15.
" J. S., tomb. 1841.
" JOSEPH S. Mar. 22, 1842, aged 45.
" MEHITABLE, wife of Joseph S. Aug. 1, 1869, aged 69.
" JOSEPH. Aug. 19, 1856, aged 76 y., 10 m.
" POLLY, wife of Joseph. Feb. 16, 1804, aged 24 y., 8 m., 16 d.
" DEBORAH " " " June 16, 1853, aged 66 y., 8 m.
PITMAN, ELIZABETH. Nov. 10, 1831, aged 63.
" BENJAMIN. Mar. 26, 1837, aged 72.
" SARAH, wife of BENJAMIN. Oct. 12, 1845, aged 73.
" J. and H. F., tomb. 1840.
" WILLIAM, " 1852.
POWERS, PETER S., tomb. 1858.
PREBLE, NEHEMIAH. June 27, 1873, aged 77 y., 6 m., 16 d.
" HANNAH, wife of Nehemiah, and dau. of Samuel Swazey. Dec. 24, 1871, aged 73 y., 8 m., 24 d.
PRENTISS, J. E., U. S. Navy, tomb. 1837.
" CALEB, Jr. " 1843.
PRICE, HESTER A. Aug. 18, 1868, aged 2 y., 9 m.
PRICHARD, BENJ., son of Benj. and Mary. Dec. 4, 1800, aged 12 m., 23 d.
" WILLIAM, lost at sea, —— 1832, aged 53.
" SUSAN, wife of William. Oct. 29, 1862, aged 79 y., 4 m.
" WILLIAM. Sept. 4, 1857, aged 47 y., 9 m.
" JOSEPH W., brother to William. Dec. 6, 1850, aged 35 y., 9 m.
PROCTOR, WILLIAM, born Nov. 6, 1794, died Apr. 25, 1869.
" ELIZABETH, wife of William, born Oct. 8, 1783, died May 29, 1864.

QUINER, Capt. JOHN, tomb. 1827.

RAMSDELL, JAMES, tomb. 1848.
RATHBUN, FRANK H., member of Co. E., 2d Mass. H. A., born Sept. 16, 1836, died Apr. 14, 1865.
" SARAH D. ROUNDY, wife of Frank H., born Oct. 31, 1835, died Feb. 11, 1865.
REA, HENRY, tomb. 1817.
REXFORD, THOMAS TANNATT, son of Jordan and Mary. Nov. 24, 1807, aged 15 m., 8 d.
REYNOLDS, JOHN. Sept. 29, 1822, aged 31 y., 2 m.
" GRACE B., wid. of John. July 4, 1846, 53 y., 9 m.

REYNOLDS, JANE, wid. of John. Nov. 29, 1864, aged 84 y., 10 m.
" JUDITH H. HAMMOND, dau. of John and Jane. Aug. 17, 1847, aged 35 y., 1 m., 12 d.
RICHARDSON, SALLY B. June 29, 1854, aged 68.
" THOS. J. P. BLISS, son of Sally B. May 8, 1844, aged 21 y., 11 m.
ROADS, SAMUEL. Nov. 23, 1836, aged 73.
" ELLEN, wife of Samuel. Aug. 9, 1821, aged 45 y., 10 m.
" MEHITABLE, wife of Samuel. June 4, 1837, aged 48.
" SAMUEL, Jr. June 1, 1826, aged 29 y., 9 m.
" GEORGE, son of Samuel and Ellen. Oct. 5, 1833, aged 25.
" MARY, wife of Abiel. May 8, 1829, aged 20 y., 4 m.
RODGERS, JAMES LAWRENCE, son of Wm. and Elizabeth. Mar. 8, 1873, aged 27 y., 6 m.
ROUNDEY, NATHANIEL V. Nov. 3, 1848, aged 47 y.
" EVELINE, dau. of Nathaniel V. Oct. 3, 1848, aged 16.
" DEBORAH, tomb. 1842.
ROUNDY, CATHERINE, wife of John. Aug. 10, 1830, aged 28 y., 6 m., 20 d.
" WILLIAM S. May 20, 1852, aged 31.
" HORACE, son of William S. Nov. 13, 1852, aged 3 y.
" KATE MITCHELL, dau. of William S. and Rebecca, born Jan. 1, 1844, died Mar. 23, 1867.
" SARAH ELLEN, dau. of William S. and Rebecca, born Oct. 9, 1851, died June 8, 1871.
RUSSELL, J. and C., tomb. 1853.
" ELIZABETH A., tomb. 1865.
" SARAH, wife of Capt. John H. Nov. 9, 1862, aged 65.
" MARY, wife of John H., Jr., and dau. of James Freeto. Aug. 1, 1861, aged 33.

SALKINS, JOHN. July 18, 1849, aged 57 y., 3 m.
" HENRY, son of John. July 7, 1837, aged 9 y., 23 d.
" SARAH YOUNG, dau. of John and Hannah, born May 5, 1840, died Jan. 3, 1860.
" JAMES, son of William and Elizabeth A. Sept. 4, 1857, 16 m.
SANBORN, MARIETTA, dau. of Nathan P. and Mary A. Nov. 20, 1849, aged 1 y., 13 d.
SELMAN, BENJAMIN, tomb. 1829.
" EDWARD. Jan. 28, 1806, aged 22 y., 11 m.
SHEPHERD, GEORGE W. Dec. 7, 1857, aged 43 y., 2 m., 17 d.
" GEORGE W., son of Geo. W. and Lucy Ann. Oct. 17, 1835, aged 1 y.
" LUCY ANN, dau. of Geo. W. and Lucy Ann. Oct. 4, 1851, aged 15 d.

SHEPHERD, WARREN. July 6, 1840, aged 58.
" SARAH, wife of Warren. Jan. 30, 1857, 54 y., 6 m.
SHIRLEY, ANNAS, wife of William. Feb. 11, 1806, aged 51.
" ELIZA, dau. of Wm. and Annas. Sept. 23, 1803, aged 4 y.
" PHAREZ, tomb. 1835.
SIMPSON, DAVID S., born Leith, Scotland, Oct. 4, 1796, died July 29, 1856.
SMETHERS, GAMALIEL. Aug. 6, 1825, aged 35.
" REBECCA, wife of Gamaliel. Oct. 7, 1849, aged 57.
SMITH, ROBERT. Mar. 2, 1806, aged 82.
SNOW, THOMAS, 1st, tomb. 1834.
" " 2d " "
" SARAH, wife of Capt. Jona. D. Aug. 29, 1853, aged 65 y. 2 m.
SPARHAWK, JOHN, tomb. 1829.
STACEY, ELIZABETH, wid. of John. Aug. 18, 1821, 73d yr.
STANDLEY, S., tomb. 1852.
STANLEY, ALEXANDER S. Feb. 18, 1859, 85th yr.
" JANE WILLS, wife of Alex'r S. Mar. 18, 1837, 58th yr.
STEVENS, BENJAMIN. Aug. 20, 1818, 26 y. 11 m.
" SARAH ELIZABETH, dau. of Benj. and Betsey. Jan. 13, 1818, 11 m.
" THOMAS, Acting Ensign, U. S. N., U. S. S. Pontiac, at Naval Hospital, Port Royal, S. C., from wounds received at Boyd's Creek, S. C., Jan. 19, 1865, aged 30.
" JOHN G., tomb. 1852.
STEVENSON, DAVID. Apr. 1, 1845, aged 47 y., 6 m.
" SUSANNA, wife of David, and dau. of Benj. and Hannah Stone. Nov. 5, 1833, aged 23 y., 9 m.
STONE, JOHN, tomb. 1838.
" ISAAC " "
" W. and J. " 1833.
" DAVID, son of David and Susanna. Mar. 2, 1834, aged 7 m.
" ANN, dau. of David and Ann. Oct. 9, 1836, 5 m.
" SARAH E., dau. of David and Ann. July 31, 1841, 16 m.
" SIMON, son of Simon A., and Mary E., born Oct. 20, 1846, died Sept. 9, 1848.
" ELLA A., dau. of Simon A., and Mary E., born Mar. 8, 1857, died Nov. 28, 1864.
" BENJAMIN. Oct. 14, 1861, 79 y., 3 m.
" HANNAH, wid. of Benj. Feb. 6, 1872, 87 y., 4 m., 7 d.
" BENJAMIN, son of Benj. Nov. 11, 1858, 54 y., 2 m.
STORY, WILLIAM, Esq., formerly of Boston. Nov. 24, 1799, aged 80.
" ELISHA, Dr., M. M. S. S. Aug. 27, 1805, aged 62.
" Capt. JOHN. Nov. 1, 1846, aged 77.

STORY, JUDITH, wife of Capt. John. Sept. 8, 1824, aged 49.
STRONG, SUSAN, wife of William. Oct 11, 1829, aged 60.
" SUSAN MARIA, dau. of P. May 24, 1839, aged 3.
SWAZEY, SAMUEL. Jan. 6, 1859, aged 84 y., 6 m., 11 d.
" NANCY, wife of Samuel. Sept. 29, 1840, 65 y., 7 m.
" NANCY, dau. of Samuel and Nancy. May 15, 1800, aged 3 m.
" BETSEY, " " " " " June 25, 1802, aged 4 y.
" SAMUEL, son " " " " " July 25, 1821, aged 20 y.
" NATHAN, " " " " " Oct. 1, 1833, aged 22 y.
" Capt. BENJ. B. May 24, 1855, 48 y., 4 m., 9 d.
" BENJAMIN B., son of Capt. Benj. B., of wounds received at Spottsylvania, Va. July 16, 1864, aged 36 y., 11.
SWEET, MARY ELIZABETH, wife of Moses. June 11, 1833, aged 21.
SWEETLAND, JOHN, born Nov. 15, 1803, died Apr. 21, 1857.
" ELIZABETH M., wife of John, born Apr. 8, 1801, died Oct. 22, 1857.
SWETT, W., tomb. 1833.
SYMONDS, ESTHER, wife of Benjamin. Nov. 30, 1865, aged 59 y., 2 m. 23 d.

TESHEW, S. G., tomb. 1834.
THAYER, ISAAC " 1840.
THOMPSON, JOHN " ——
" THOMAS " Aug. 15, 1822.
" BENJAMIN, tomb. 1845.
THORNER, PHILIP L. May 13, 1857, aged 48 y., 1 m., 25 d.
" NANCY S., wife of Philip L. Dec. 18, 1867, aged 56 y., 11 m.
THRASHER, JOHN, tomb. 1852.
TOPHAM, JAMES, tomb. 1826.
TOWN, —— " 1851.
" —— " 1865.
TRAILL, JOHN " 1838.
TUCKER, NICHOLAS " 1825.
" T. " 1834.
TURNER, SAMUEL " ——
TUTT, RICHARD. Sept. 25, 1819, 34 y., 6 m.

UNION, EDWARD, lost at sea. Nov. 10, 1833, aged 35 y.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Edward. Sept. 5, 1833, aged 8 y.

VICKERY, ALICE, tomb. 1825.

WIGGINS, S. E., tomb. 1852.

WILKINS, FRANKIE, son of Frank and Mary A. July 6, 1865, 7 y., 3 m.
" ——— a " " " " " " 4 m.

WILSON, JOSEPH, tomb. Aug. 1821.

WINSLOW, AARON. June 19, 1854, aged 70 y.

" ELIZA PICKELL, wife of Aaron. May 28, 1856, aged 82 y.

WOODBRIDGE, WILLIAM, tomb. 1835.

WRIGHT, JOSEPH T., Serg't., Co. E. 16th Regt. M. V., wounded in battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864, died M'h'd., Jan. 20, 1865, 34 y., 9 m.

" JOSEPHINE, dau. of Joseph T. Sept. 4, 1861, 2 y., 3 m.

LETTERS FROM DAVID LIVINGSTONE, THE DISTINGUISHED AFRICAN EXPLORER.

WRITTEN IN 1856.

THE two following original letters are deposited in the archives of the Essex Institute, through the kindness of John J. Coker, Esq.

They were addressed to Sir Edmund Gabriel, who was in 1856 the Commissioner of the British Government for the suppression of the slave trade, stationed at Loando, Southwestern Africa. Mr. Coker was at the same time located in Loando as agent of one of our Salem houses that had an extensive African trade. Being an intimate friend of the English agent, these were given to him as *souvenirs* of this daring and intrepid traveller.

An increased interest may be attached to these letters in consequence of the news of the unfortunate and untimely death of the writer, which has reached us during the present year.—J. K.

RIVER ZAMBESI, ABOVE TETE, 7th February, 1856.

My ever dear Friend Gabriel:—

You can scarcely conceive the amount of pleasure which thrills through my bosom when imagination leads me back to Loanda, or now when my approach to the haunts of civilized man reminds me I may now resume my epistolary addresses to you. My nature does not allow much of my feelings to come to the surface in presence of others. This is partly owing to my efforts to restrain a hasty temper. But though I may have appeared to you

cold, be assured I ever have regarded you with very great affection, and time and distance have not in the least degree diminished it. I am now some forty or fifty miles from Tette or Tete, otherwise called Nyunkue, and as you were in some considerable degree the means of enabling me to accomplish my journey thus far, it seems a plain duty to give you the earliest possible information. I wrote a note or two by an Arab from Zanzibar, who undertook to guide another party of the people of Sekeletu to Loanda and teach them to trade. I earnestly longed for another packet from you at Cabango, but it did not come while I was there. Consequently I have been obliged to repress all my longings for more information about the war, and everything else. I got some Cape papers of 1852 at Linyanti and one letter from Mrs. L. I am now indulging the hope of a packet from you when I reach Quillimane.

But I must proceed to the subject of my travels in *terra incognita*, and first of all I think the most important point is the form which the more central part of the continent has assumed. There are two longitudinal ridges on its eastern and western sides, separated from each other by 9° or 10° of longitude. The intervening valley is considerably elevated with respect to the level of the sea, but is really a trough or basin with respect to the ridges. There is a sort of partition in it at Dilolo clearly shown in the courses of the Lotembua, one portion going N. E. into the Casai or Zaire, the other S. into the Leba and Zambesi, or to extend our view, one portion is sent to the Atlantic by the Congo, and another to the Indian Ocean by the "Rio da Senna." The form of the valley is clearly seen by the courses of the rivers north and south of the Dilolo. They flow on both sides from the ridges towards the centre of the continent, making Northing or Southing in addition as they belong to the western or eastern outlets. A section of the western ridge is made by the Quango in the remarkable descent I mentioned to you. The point of ebullition of water shows the western ascent to be considerably lower than the eastern, though to the eye it is much higher. Thus, top

of eastern descent 202°, western or Tala Mungongo 206°, or the same as Lake Ngami, which is clearly in a hollow. I sent a little bit of that ridge from Cassange. You would remark it is of clay slate. We call it keel in Scotland, and it is from of old considered a certain indication of gold. The eastern ridge is differently formed, but of the same height, viz., 202°. I have no table by me, but I believe this indicates about 4,000 ft. The most remarkable feature connected with these ridges is their great salubrity. Bihé is situated on the flank of the western ridge, and is healthy. Are the "Pedras negras" not utterly unlike what was believed of them when transportation there was considered a severer punishment than to any part of the coast? The eastern ridge has very little water on it, and absolutely no marsh, and moreover has a universally good reputation for healthiness among the inhabitants. But I am going on too fast for you. Let us turn back to the Falls in the Zambesi, of which you may have heard me speak. I was accompanied down the river by Sekeletu and about 200 of his followers, including, of course, the principal men of the tribe. When we came to Kalai, otherwise named Sekote's island, it was decided by those who know the country well in front, that we must avoid the rugged country infested by tsetse near the river, and strike off to the northeast in order to meet the stream when it has become placid again. I therefore took a canoe and glided down to see the most wonderful sight I have seen in Africa—the "smoke sounding" falls of the Zambesi. The river is very broad above, and filled with lovely islands covered with luxuriant sylvan vegetation. It is at least a thousand yards broad. Being then low water a light canoe, and men well acquainted with the eddies formed by the islands, took Pitsane and myself to an island situated in the middle of the river and edge of the lip over which the water rolls. Creeping to the verge we peer down one hundred feet and see the stream of a thousand yards leaping into a rent made in the bed from bank to bank and suddenly compressed into fifteen or twenty yards at the bottom. I may use the same language to you as I do in

a letter to Sir R. Murchison. If you imagine the Thames filled with low tree-covered hills from the Tunnel as far as Gravesend, the bed of the river of basaltic rock instead of London mud, and a rent made in it from one end of the Tunnel to the other, down through the centre of the arch, the pathway being 100 feet down from the bed instead of what it is, and the lips from sixty to eighty feet apart—suppose farther the fissure or rent prolonged from the left hand bank away to Gravesend, and the Thames leaping bodily into the gulph, forced to change its course at the bottom, go from right to left bank, then turn a corner and go boiling and roaring through the hills, and you have some idea of what takes place in the case of the Zambesi. When it has penetrated thirty or forty miles it becomes placid and broad again, and wends away to the northeast, till it gains the latitude 15° 37′, where I now write. The falls, which I would like to name after her majesty, are in 17° 57′, south lat., long. 26° 6′ east. When within five or six miles of them at low water we see five or six columns of vapor ascending as if to the clouds. When looking into the fissure we see nothing on the right hand but a mass or stream of this vapor rushing with a force and in mass unlike anything I ever saw before. When 300 or 400 feet high it loses its steamy appearance, becomes dark, and falls down in a smart shower which soon wet us to the skin. On that side, too, nothing like the bottom can be seen; there is only a dense white cloud and two bright rainbows sitting on it. On the left a piece of the lip has fallen in, and from that appearing among the foam I conjecture the depth. On the opposite lip, or that over which the river does not fall, there is a dense hedge of evergreen trees, the leaves of which are always wet with the ever-falling condensed vapor, and from their roots run several little rills back into the gulph, but are never allowed to reach the cloud even,—the ascending vapor licks them clean off the perpendicular wall, and away they go as steam again. Formerly the falls were used as places where certain chiefs worshipped the Barimo gods, or departed spirits. Living on the islands of the Zambesi they were

perfectly secure, and showed in their treatment of such as fell into their power that they knew nothing of the true character of our great and good and holy Creator. Sebituane did a good service in rooting them out of their fastnesses. I have a number of their former subjects in my company now, and they have more of the slave spirit than any I ever had before. Makololo, Barotse, Bashubia and even other Batska tribes have representatives in the party who all behave like men. But with those referred to no motive actuates them but fear. Slavery is indisputably a curse and a blot wherever it is met with. I have one hundred and thirteen (!) in my party this time. How imprudent, you remark, to take such an army. I am quite of the same opinion sometimes. At other times I laugh at the "worldly wise" and quote some wise sayings, such as "never venture, never won," "faint heart," etc., and add, I shall get work for them when near the sea, and they will support themselves. They themselves applaud the plan. We have had no want of food hitherto. The tribes on this fertile river raise large quantities of maize and guinea corn, and are most liberal to the party. I hope to repay them one day. Before we came among them there was no want of large game. The "tameness" of elephants and buffaloes "was shocking to me." Some parts resembled what we read of in geology, when Megatheria roamed undisturbed by man. The men are very brave with elephants, but the bulls were our masters. I fired eight bullets of the large gun you saw at Loanda, and four of the double barrelled piece, into one at thirty or forty paces distance, and when night closed the combat he got clear away. We never saw him. Previous to this he fell in running and rose like a porcupine from the number of spears in him. It was Mr. Heysham's powder, too, each charge nine drachms. I never regretted more the non-possession of the peculiar bullets used by whalers than then. The people were very hungry at the time in consequence of the flight of the inhabitants. They thought we were a marauding host, and I would not allow anything to be touched dishonestly. Hence my exposure to the danger. They said they would

place themselves between me and it if he charged. We got several cow elephants and calves. When parting with Sekeletu he inquired if I thought Pitsane could conduct another party to Loanda, and on my replying in the affirmative he intimated that he intended to send him soon. The "Cavalheiro" has volunteered again for the same service. He is of a more respectable standing and family than Pitsane, but though a sensible fellow, manages somehow or other to get disliked. I got on well enough with him, as he was always very obliging and liked to be spoken to respectfully. The party under the Arab have no voice whatever in the trade, and I have learned he likes agoardente. It is curious that the tribes south of the Zambesi are in general proof against that nasty fluid, unless they have a dash of Dutch blood in their veins. And so of the venereal disease. It cannot propagate itself among the blacks. It dies out of itself. This is not climatorial, for the bastards have it in all its forms, the virulence being proportioned to the amount of European blood they possess. Does this not seem to argue the imperishability of the race? Its ravages among tribes apparently doomed to destruction are fearful, and so are those of small pox, while here small pox paid a passing visit some twenty years ago, and never returned.

The best of all the information I have to convey is that we seem to have water carriage up the river Zambesi to within 2° of the Makololo. Had we possessed canoes we should have been in Quillimane in two months after leaving Sekeletu. And suppose I move them on to the healthy ridge, we shall then be only two months distant from the sea, though near the centre of the continent. There is hope for the interior being civilized yet; for if the ridges extend far beyond the region to which my inquiries extend, stations for commerce and missionary operations may be formed in equally healthy parts to that I have discovered. Did the Niger expedition turn back when near such a desirable position for its stricken members? The Congo, as well as the Orange River, is discharged by a fissure through the ridge, as well as the Zambesi. Only on such a supposition can we account

for its great want of breadth above and immense volume of deep, fast flowing water near the mouth. But I must have wearied you with these points of physical geography. We often feel as if that which is intensely interesting to ourselves must be equally so to others.

The trade of this river has declined miserably. On coming to the confluence of the Loangwa and Zambesi we found the ruins of a church, fort and many stone houses, and could not get the name from its present inhabitants. Subsequently I ascertained it was named Zumbo, and was deserted in 1793 on the approach of a host of marauding Mashonas and never reoccupied. It is the finest trading station that can be conceived for the interior. There is water carriage in three directions beyond—the Bashukulompo river and Loangwa being one river divided into two and falling into the Zambesi about 1° apart from each other. There is thus water carriage up to near Cazembe, who is about 2° south of Matiamvo. Indeed, Pereira visited him by the Loangwa. Zumbo is, moreover, a spot of great beauty, and the merchants had their stone houses placed high up on the abutment of a tree covered hill, commanding thereby a glorious view of the broad Zambesi. It was to me quite unaccountable why it should thus lay waste, and chiefs in the vicinity lamenting that nobody now came except Babisa to purchase their ivory. But when we met a few days ago two Portuguese the mystery was explained. The tribes have kept them shut up in their fort at Tete for the last two years, and now only is peace restored. The natives appear a strong, muscular race of negroes, both men and women, much addicted to agriculture, the soil being fertile and yielding large quantities of grain. They have treated us well, though several musterings as if for fighting have taken place. The traders pay highly for the privilege of passing; we have paid nothing yet. This system of paying for passage belongs to slave trading exclusively and indicates a feeling of wrong doing on the part of those who established it. In the south a trader never thinks of asking leave to pass. They ask for a guide only, and payment of the guide is all that is

thought of by either trader or people. Here the people have a bad feeling to the slave trader. They say "only think! the whole of their village of Tete is composed of children we have borne," and if we hint that the fault is their own for receiving the prices, they seem to think we are wanting in sympathy. The slave trade carried on by the Mambari, first among Makololo and then among certain poor Batoka tribes on our east, is repressed in a most natural manner. They first allied themselves to a man who had some pretension to the chieftainship and whom Sekeletu put to death for conspiracy. Orders were then issued not to sell any children to them. But they passing to the east found that the Batoka would part with children for hoes and nothing else would induce them to sell them. They then bought hoes from Sekeletu's subjects, got ivory, too, on very easy terms, and as the slaves are needed for domestic purposes only, a tusk or two was absolutely necessary to make the journey from Bihé profitable. The Makololo, perceiving the very great value of ivory, proposed to stop the Mambari by force. But on getting a hint to secure all the ivory by supplying the Batoka with hoes themselves, it was so promptly responded to I anticipate small trade for the Mambari in future. I am now engaged in increasing the knowledge of the value of ivory. I have taken about twenty tusks to purchase a long list of articles for Sekeletu. Could I do less than try to serve those who have done everything in their power to serve me? He presented three of the best riding oxen he could purchase among his people, and ten slaughter cattle, besides meal and everything else he could think of for my comfort. I could not have accepted all if I had not indulged the hope of being able in various ways to repay him with interest. I have a much better chief man this time than Pitsane. My second is not so good as Mashuema, but all do wonderfully well for savages, and I have much reason to be thoroughly grateful to God for so far providing for me and enabling me to do some service of which my children will not be ashamed.

I have not had a touch of the fever since leaving Linyanti. This is partly owing to having been much of the

time on the eastern ridge, and more, I believe, from not having been subjected to the starchy diet of my former journey. I have had wheaten bread all the way. We are famous bakers. Would you like to learn? Here goes, then, for an "extemporaneous" oven. Make a good fire and when the spot is thoroughly heated put your dough into a shallow pan on the coals; invert any kind of pot over it, and make a little fire on it, heaping the coals or ashes against the sides and in an hour an excellent loaf is made. Fresh bread and coffee Arab fashion has kept me most comfortably all the way. I never tire of it. Sugar is long ago finished. Meat occasionally constitutes the only variation. We had oxen all the way down to the Zambesi, but tsetse killed all those which could be mounted, and I now wind along the banks on foot. It is very hot and steamy here. The number of rivulets which enter the great river make us go much in zigzag fashion. We don't make more than one and one-half miles per hour in a straight line, but snails and tortoises reach the end of their routes by perseverance, and so will we. Do you remember the bird you battered by the hour one day? It is common here, and is a cuckoo. It has a loudish cry, like that of our blackbird when disturbed, and ends in calling several times, "pula, pula, pula,"= rain, rain, rain. It is usually heard about the rainy time, or before a continued rain. The natives call it "Mokua Reza," or son-in-law of God, and it takes possession of the nest of the white backed Senegal crow, throwing out its eggs or young. How do you get on with your collection? Had you come with me you would have seen some strange ones. The song birds here make a very pleasant chorus. I must not forget to mention making a garden on the island which overlooks the falls. Observing it covered with trees, many of which I had seen nowhere else, and that a whiff of vapor came over it every now and then, giving it proper moisture, I digged a nook and planted a lot of peach and apricot stones, coffee seeds, fructa da conde, etc., etc., and if my hedge to keep off the hippopotami is made according to contract, I have great hopes of Mosioatunya's abilities as a nursery-man. The little

information I got of my family was satisfactory, children doing well at school. This is excellent, for what they now learn must be their stay through life. I hope you are equally happy in what you hear from your friends. I shall add a little at Quillimane; in the meantime may He who is near to and over all abundantly bless you. I am ever, with great affection,

Your friend, DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

TETTE OR NYUNGUE ON ZAMBESI, EAST AFRICA,
3d March, 1856.

My Dear Friend:

Reached this by the mercy of God yesterday morning, pretty well tired out from marching through a rough, stony jungle during the last week or so. When we had a path it was easier. All the oxen were killed by tsetse, and as I could not purchase a canoe I had to rough it, and am as thin as a lath. I became so when I got to Barotse, renewed my flanks again with lots of milk! Am again thinner than when I reached Loanda, but am made of a piece of good clay, and will recover again. When I turn quack doctor I mean to set up travelopathy, and if I do not cure (or kill) every fat alderman who falls into my hands, "that's all." Your iron boxes did excellent service, kept my books and clothes famously. The daguerrotype got its glass broken, but you are safe. I shall write the Governor from Quillimane and I am thinking of taking advantage of the éclat of my discoveries to give the news to the young king of Portugal by way of acknowledgment for the kindness of his people, and put in a good word for Angola, all, of course, privately, and no answer expected. What think you? Would it be better to wait to send a copy of my book, should that ever see the light? This is going off at once. I cannot re-read what I have written, but you will take it all kindly.

From yours ever affectionately,

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Kind words to all my old friends whom you may see.

SOME REMARKS UPON THE "LIFE OF JOHN ROGERS," BY JOSEPH L. CHESTER, Esq.

By Caroline Healey Dall.

Mr. Chester gives two pedigrees of the martyr Rogers. He seems to abide by the first, Robert Cooke's, probably because the order of its names corresponds to Daniel Rogers' admission that Ambrose was his youngest brother, living in 1591.

In 1575 Philip was alive, according to the Conway papers (State paper office, No. 222), but if the pedigree be right, and Mr. Chester omits no names mentioned in Daniel's will, in 1591, only Ambrose and John survived.

The correctness of Cooke's pedigree, if it named Daniel as the oldest son, seems to be confirmed by Daniel's going to the prison with his mother. Although only seventeen years of age, he was, in the eye of the law, his father's representative. Gorton and other early popular authorities stated that Daniel was born at Ashton in Warwickshire in 1540. This is another link to connect the martyr with John of Deritend.

Chester calls John Rogers of Dedham a Puritan. He was a conformist; so was his son Nathaniel, but the latter thought he had lived to find surplice and service book "stumbling blocks to the church." John of Dedham was given to "prophecy" as well as the martyr, and terrible results are said to have followed the curse of either.

Hooker, called John of Dedham, the "Prince of English

preachers." He was called a "Saint." The pulpit of Ipswich, Mass., was supplied by one of his name and family for one hundred and three years. It has been said that a belief in the descent from the martyr was never entertained in that family but that certainly is not true. No one can tell what was in the diary that Nathaniel Rogers ordered to be burned, nor does it seem strange to me, that the immediate descendants made so little of their claim. At first, even in Elizabeth's time, the general religious unsettledness made it dangerous to remind those who had recanted of him who had stood firm, and there was small need to tell what everybody knew. As soon as this state of things passed away, the nonconformist troubles began, and those who had inherited restless blood made no haste to draw public attention to the fact.

It would be less strange to find a hidden link between Deritend and Dedham, than to discover two families, of wholly distinct origin, so remarkable for the same traits of piety, ardor, reticence, learning, especially knowledge of many tongues. It is only an inherited impetus of no common kind that can account for the clergymen of that name in New England.

Traditions are full of error, but they stand upon something. All through Essex County can be found people who believe they are descended from John Winthrop's daughter. They are actually descended from the sister of his daughter-in-law.

Half a dozen volumes of the Historical Register and numerous entries in Savage's Dictionary tell us of those who are descended from Baruch Whittingham and Katharine Calvin. Yet these last errors were easy of correction. Katharine, the sister of Calvin's wife, and Daniel her youngest son by Dean Whittingham, were waiting calmly to be called into court.

In 1770 this tradition had existed long enough to be inscribed upon a tombstone but it existed a long time before, strengthened by various relics held by various members of the family and connected with the name of John.

My grandfather was the son of Lucy Rogers, and her father, Doctor Samuel Rogers, was the great grandson of John of Dedham.

One of the relics, to which I have alluded, Lucy Rogers received from her father. It was an account book and personal memorandum book kept at Antwerp and elsewhere in the Low Countries. The entries were begun by one John Rogers and finished by another. My grandfather told me that when he was a little child he used to amuse himself by spelling out the charges. The only entry he could remember was a contrast of the piece of a day's work in the Brabant at 4d English, with that in England itself. My grandfather was dead before Chester began to write, but I spoke to my father who lived with him before his marriage, about this book as soon as the Chester life was published. My father remembered it perfectly, but thought it perished in the fire of 1812 at Newburyport, where the family then lived. On the contrary my grandfather's only surviving son thinks it was carried to Illinois by a brother of my grandfather, who emigrated before I can remember.

Many of the descendants of John of Dedham bear a strong likeness to the portrait engraved by Chester as that of the Martyr. Observe, also, the peculiar arch formed by the veins of the hand nearest the thumb in the picture. That also has been inherited and called a Rogers trait.

If there were two families at the beginning both transmitted :—

1. Great love of learning.

2. Singular proficiency in languages, shown by the martyr in his preaching to his Wittenberg congregation, in German, and his editing of the Matthew Bible.

3. A remarkable moderation of character equally removed from dulness and fanaticism.

The martyr neither sought nor refused martyrdom, and Nathaniel of Ipswich showed the same spirit.

4. A most manly absence of personal ambition; witness the power of the men while living and the few monuments left to attest it.

Mr. Chester says there is the very "slightest chance" that there may be some kinship, between John of Deritend and John of Dedham. On the whole I prefer to cling to that "slight chance."

Boston, Jan. 3, 1873.

WILLIAM ROGERS' PETITION TO BE APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ESTATE OF HIS GRANDFATHER, THOMAS SCOTT.

COMMUNICATED BY F. G. WATERS.

To the Honoured Colonell Gidnye, Judg of the probate of wills and Granting of Administration for the County of Essex the Humble Request of william Rodgers Humbly sheweth that Thomas Scott my Grandfather dyed in Ipswich about thirty and eight yers agoe and made noe will. he left my Grandmother with onely two children viz margerett Scott my mother and thomas Scott; my s^{d} Grandmother was made an Adminestratrex to my s^{d} Grandfathers estate but there was noe settlement made of the s^{d} estat by the Court at all; and my s^{d} oncle thomas Scott went into old England and dyed ther. and when I was about foure yers old my mother dyed. and in a short time after my Grandmother dyed; about sixteen yers agoe; my s^{d} Grandfather dyes seased of a good considerable estat in land in Ipswich; I am the onely suruiuing person decended from my s^{d} Grandfather, and now I am come to the age of twenty one yers doe humbly craue that your Honnour will grant Administration to me of the estat of my s^{d} Grandfather that hath not been leagally disposed of and shall Remaine

your Honnours humble servant

WILLIAM ROGERS.

Janewary the 14th 1694.

To Capt. Steuen Sewall,
att Salem.

SIR I present this as a caution to prevent William Rogers his administrating upon the estate w^ch^ was Thomas Scotts of Ipswich deceased: for I can produce a legall administration (and quiet possession) near twelve years sinc from a County Court held at Boston. if the sayd W^m^ should moue for any such thing I desire he may be put by: or I have notice of it.

Sir yours to command

Newbury feb: 15: 1694–5 JOSEPH WOODBRIDGE.

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

AMONG those who took passage for this country from England, in the ship Elizabeth, late in April, 1634, were Thomas Scott (aged 40 years), his wife, Elizabeth (40 yrs.), and children, Elizabeth (9 yrs.) Abigail (7 yrs.) and Thomas (6 yrs.). In the same ship came Martha Scott (60 yrs.) perhaps the mother of Thomas, and Richard Kimball (39 yrs.), with wife, Ursula, who may have been his sister. The will of Thomas Scott, signed 8th March, 1653–4 and pro. 28, 1^mo.^, 54, mentions the children above named, and, in addition, daughters Hannah, Sarah and Mary, and brother, Richard Kimball. His son, Thomas, is spoken of as at Stamford, in the jurisdiction of New Haven. It was this Thomas Scott[2] who is called "grandfather" in the petition. He married, at Ipswich, Margaret, dau. of Mr. William Hubbard and sister of the historian, by whom he had two children, Margaret and Thomas. Of the sisters, it is known that Elizabeth md. (John?) Spofford, Abigail md. Haniel Bosworth, Hannah md. Edmond Lockwood, and Mary

md. Thomas Patch. Thomas Scott[2] dying intestate in 1657 (in May or June, according to the testimony of Capt. John Appleton), administration was granted, 29th Sept. following, to his widow, Margaret, who afterwards md. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, and was the mother of his children. July 5, 1674, she was again left a widow, and died four years later. Her will of June 22, 1678, was presented 2, 6$^{mo.}$ of the same year. Of her two children by her first husband, Thomas Scott[3], as the petitioner says, "went into old England and dyed ther," about 1677, leaving, by an informal will, written on the leaves of his acc. book, all his estate to his mother. His sister Margaret md., probably as second wife, Mr. William Rogers, of Boston, merchant, by whom she had one child, the petitioner. Her husband dying, she md., secondly, William Snelling, of Boston, and by him had Mary, b. 20 June, 1677. These two (William Rogers and Mary Snelling), I suppose to be the persons named in the will of their grandmother (Scott) Rogers in the following terms, viz.: "my son and daughter, Snelling's two children, viz: Rogers and Snelling." Perhaps this William, who signs the petition, may have been the father of Captain William Rogers, of Wenham, who md. Elizabeth, a dau. of Sergeant John and Mary (Fiske) Perkins, of Wenham, and granddaughter of Sergeant Jacob and Elizabeth Perkins of Ipswich and of Capt. Thomas and Joan (White?) Fiske of Wenham.

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